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The Shape of Things

GENERAL DE GAULLE'S ACHIEVEMENT IN MOSCOW has dispelled all doubts as to his talent for high politics. In the astonishingly rapid renaissance of France the gallant general of the resistance movement has become a statesman. On the one hand, he has been firm in his demands that Washington and London give his government full recognition and in refusing to be treated as a poor relation. And on the other hand, he was ready to go anywhere to find security and justice for his nation. The road led to Moscow. In sixteen days, a record for negotiations of this kind, a treaty between Russia and France was signed similar in many respects to that concluded by Great Britain and Russia in 1942. Similar, but politically much more important. It surpasses in significance the traditional alliance between France and Russia, of which the French-Soviet pact of 1934 was the most recent expression and which was inspired mainly by considerations of military security. The treaty concluded by Stalin and De Gaulle indicates that Russia, contrary to some belief, is definitely interested in developments in the west. And it suggests that France is veering away from Britain toward Moscow. British intervention against the peoples of Belgium, Italy, and Greece begins to show its disastrous inevitable results. Mr. Churchill said once that he did not intend "to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." But if he carries through his reactionary policy in Europe, the moral liquidation of the British Empire will have begun.

*

THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE *VOLKSSTURM* IN THE battle of Germany has been viewed differently by American and British military experts. To Americans, the idea of pitting against the best-equipped army in the world a force composed of men sixty years old, boys of fifteen, scientists who have never held a gun, chorus men from the Berlin Opera, and civil-service clerks is about as sensible as sending Frank Sinatra into the ring against Joe Louis. Every American cartoonist has given his sense of satire full play in caricaturing this latest contribution of the master race. The British are less inclined to laugh it off. In 1940, after the fall of France, when a German assault upon England seemed imminent, the British gathered together as many men as possible and organized the Home Guard. This was not a regular army either. But the British assumed that the Home Guard, given a high morale, could fend off an invasion attempt while a real British army was being formed. Of course the situation in Germany today is entirely different. Germany can raise no new armies of any size. And yet neu-

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tral sources have recently reported that the German General Staff expects to organize a kind of last "army of maneuver" between now and spring on the assumption that the German lines will not crack before then. The *Volkssturm* will prove its value if it can help assure Himmler and his generals the three months' respite they so desperately need. The question is whether or not the soldiers of the *Volkssturm* will hold. General Sir Douglas Brownrigg, a British military expert, is of the opinion that "as long as their morale lasts, or at least as long as there are enough S. S. men to keep them at their posts, they will suffice to man the Siegfried Line."

*

THE RECALL OF AMBASSADOR HAYES, SHOULD the rumor be confirmed, will be welcomed by all Americans who have resented his consistent pro-Franco stand. Whether or not it promises a reorientation in America's policy toward Spain is still to be seen. It was far from encouraging to learn that the United States had concluded a reciprocal aviation pact with Franco Spain, effective immediately, which grants Spanish air lines operating to this country the same privileges accorded the American companies. Three routes were agreed upon, and Spain is authorized to begin services, whenever it wishes, to points in the United States to be determined by future negotiations. All this would be very well if Franco were not, as almost everyone recognizes now, an agent of Hitler, and if aviation were not just that service over which the Germans have always tried to exercise the most direct control in Spain. Germany virtually ran the aviation industries in Spain until the proclamation of the Republic in 1931, and after Franco came to power the Germans again became the masters of the Spanish lines. Consequently, the Chicago agreement opens a wide door through which the Nazis can enter into the international aviation traffic of the future. Aside from that, the agreement can only strengthen Franco politically. The Spanish press has already interpreted the presence of fascist Spain in Chicago as a precedent for future participation in international parleys. On November 17 the Spanish fascist paper *Arriba* wrote, under the heading Neutrals in the Post-war Era: "In the formation of international bodies . . . the post-war world cannot renounce the advice and active presence of those countries which were not victims of passion, as were the belligerents. . . ." We suggest that in addition to recalling Mr. Hayes the United States should not allow the agreement to come into operation until a reliable Spanish regime has been established.

*

AS THE MILITARY SITUATION IN CHINA GROWS more critical, the prospects for political unity have brightened. There are reports, which are difficult to confirm, that troops have already been withdrawn from the northwest, where they have been blockading the Communist area for the past six years. At the same time dispatches from Chungking are more optimistic over the possibility of a Kuomintang-Communist agreement than they have been for several weeks. Chou En-lai, the Communist representative in Chungking, has returned to Yenan with specific proposals from the Kuomintang regime. While it would be unwise in view of previous disappointments to assume that an agreement will be reached soon, the recent military reverses suffered by China have forced Chungking to choose between an agreement and disaster. Although the recent Cabinet changes have made no fundamental difference in the character of the Chinese government, the selection of T. V. Soong as Acting Premier in place of H. H. Kung and the removal of Ho Ying-chin as War Minister have improved the possibility of Kuomingtang-Communist cooperation. An agreement which would permit American supplies to reach the Communist armies as well as the Kuomintang troops is particularly important to the United States because, as Brooks Atkinson points out in his long-delayed dispatch from Yenan, it would permit the guerrillas to provide effective support for an American landing in any one of numerous North China ports.

*

A PROGRAM FOR RESTORING TO THE JEWS OF Europe the property taken from them and otherwise compensating them for their sufferings at the hands of the Nazis has been prepared by the World Jewish Congress. As the task is an extraordinarily complex one, the program cannot be summarized in full here, but it involves the establishment of a special United Nations organization to assure the enactment of uniform rules in all the countries despoiled by the Axis. It calls for the restoration, where possible, of all property confiscated or otherwise seized from Jewish owners and full compensation where such restoration is impossible. It suggests that Axis currency reserves, commodities, and raw materials be pooled in a fund to be used to assist uprooted Jews to reestablish themselves in occupations and professions, or, if they so desire, to resettle elsewhere. Detailed rules and regulations are set down to cover the many special problems that are bound to arise during the period of resettlement. While the program may not be practicable in all of its details, simple justice requires an elaborate and special effort to see that the people who have been treated so inhumanly by the Nazis, Jews and non-Jews alike, are restored to their pre-war status. This should be regarded as one of the primary responsibilities of the United Nations and preliminary plans should be formulated at the earliest possible moment.

*

WHILE THE SURGE OF WRATH OVER NOEL Coward's boorish remark was still at its height, another insult was flung into the face of Brooklyn. On November 22 Bishop Thomas E. Molloy announced that Pope Pius had made Patrick F. Scanlan, managing editor of the Brooklyn *Tablet*, a Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, for "distinguished services to religion and charity." Now St. Gregory the Great was a social reformer. He might even be called a New Dealer. The order bearing his name, says the *Tablet*, was founded specifically to reward social virtue. The six other prominent Catholic laymen of the borough who received the honor at the same time are all highly conservative, not to say reactionary, but they all have impressive records of civic achievement. Scanlan's record, however, is that of a cautious Coughlin. Lacking the Detroit demagogue's gifts of oratory and showmanship, he has promoted the same doctrines more quietly and perhaps more effectively. His newspaper, a comparatively sophisticated version of the old

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Social Justice, has given aid and comfort to the Christian Front, and he has associated himself publicly with such professed contemners of democracy as Merwin K. Hart, Joseph P. Kamp, and John Eoghan Kelly. All things considered, we can hardly believe His Holiness intended this particular bestowal of knighthood to be taken seriously. Humor is not inconsistent with the Papal office. St. Gregory himself is said to have made some pretty terrible Latin puns. But these are serious times, and Brooklyn has already had to bear too grievous a burden of amused contempt.

For Spain!

THE Nation Associates, together with leading political, civic, and labor groups, have called a mass meeting for Republican Spain on January 2 in Madison Square Garden in New York. We believe the time has come for the American people to register a mighty protest against our government's continued relations with the Spanish fascist dictatorship. No longer is there any military pretext for making deals with Franco to secure his "neutrality." Americans know that the Axis won its first European battle in Spain. If the democracies had not abandoned and betrayed the Spanish Republic, American boys would not be dying today in Holland and Belgium, in France and Italy. The Spanish people were the first to take up arms against fascism; the war will not be won until fascism is defeated in Spain.

This is not rhetoric. American writers and commentators of different political tendencies have lately described in detail the sinister role played by the Franco regime in the Nazi plan to keep fascism alive after military defeat. If, during the first four years of the war, Franco helped Hitler by sending his Blue Division to the eastern front, by putting Spanish ports at the disposal of German submarines, by shipping raw materials to Germany for its war industry, by carrying on an insolent and vicious campaign of propaganda in Latin America against the United Nations; now on the eve of Hitler's defeat he is helping him save as much of Nazism as can be saved and to transform Spain into a chief base of operations for the new post-war fascist conspiracy. Thousands and thousands of Germans are in Spain, and more are smuggled to Spain daily and from there to South America. Nazi money, needed in Latin America to continue the work of sabotage and penetration, is sent through Spanish banks to Argentina. Hitler had every reason two weeks ago to break his long silence in order to send an eloquent message of congratulation to Franco on his fifty-second birthday.

It is to show our feeling for the people of Spain, our moral allies during all these years, and against Franco, enemy of the United States and of every one of the United Nations, that we call the people of New York to come en masse to Madison Square Garden on January 2. We are asking for three things:

1. The severance of diplomatic relations with Franco Spain and the ending of all shipments of oil and other materials by our government;

2. Moral and financial assistance to democratic Spanish elements within Spain and outside its borders seeking to restore a Republican form of government in that country;

3. Freedom of movement and communication for Spanish Republicans in exile, especially for political leaders and representatives of the last Republican government.

The meeting will be a demonstration for the Spanish Republican forces as a whole, without distinction of party or faction. We want all Spaniards who are fighting for the liberation of their country to know that in the arduous task ahead of them they will have the moral and effective help of the people of America.

We call upon our readers to support the demonstration on January 2. Come to the meeting, bring your friends, encourage organizations to which you belong to buy tickets. Let us make this rally an impressive demonstration of the will of a free people to back a people eager to regain its freedom.

THE EDITORS OF THE NATION

The Bewildered Press

". . . it is equally fantastic that the British should now be left to struggle single-handed with Communist revolution in Greece without the active support of American and Russian policy."—New York *Herald Tribune,* editorial page, column 1, December 7, 1944.

"Most friends of China will be delighted by the report that troops of the Chungking government are being withdrawn from the task of blockading the Communist areas in the northwest. . . ."—New York *Herald Tribune,* editorial page, column 1, December 7, 1944.

Guns, Shells, Man-power

MOST Americans have been rudely shocked to learn that we are not turning out enough military supplies to meet the needs of our armed forces. We had become pretty complacent about war production. In fact, only a few months ago we were concerned lest we had produced more than would ever be required. But General Somervell has revealed that 40 per cent of the items we need for war are in short supply. The production of heavy shells is lagging 35 per cent behind needs; truck output is 31 per cent short; small-arms ammunition, 50 per cent.

These are crucial shortages. But contrary to some scare headlines, they have not yet cost American lives or hampered our current offensives. Shortages have, indeed, been experienced on the European front, but they have been due to inadequate port facilities on the Continent and the disintegration of the French railway system. The rationing of shells that has been reported has been necessitated by our inability to deliver the supplies that had been manufactured. With the opening of the port of Antwerp and the rebuilding of a number of key railway bridges in France, the deficiencies in our production have suddenly become apparent. Now that we can deliver all the shells and small-arms ammunition that are required, we suddenly find that we are not producing enough.

There are several reasons for this unexpected shortage.

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One is an unavoidable military miscalculation regarding the length and character of the European war. This of necessity has affected our estimates of the kind and quantity of weapons needed. Although our military planners allowed a substantial margin for error, it now develops that in certain kinds of weapons the margin was not large enough to cope with the exceptionally stubborn Nazi resistance along the Westwall. On top of this the estimates of requirements for the war against Japan have had to be boosted by 25 per cent within the past ninety days. The shortages have been intensified by a serious bottleneck in the machine-tool industry. They have been further aggravated by the haste with which many business groups have sought to reconvert to civilian production regardless of the scarcity of raw materials and workers. But the primary factor in the existing crisis is the shortage of man-power. Despite increasing demands, there are a million fewer workers in our war industries today than a year ago. Most of this decrease has been caused by the draft of men for the armed services. But also, in anticipation of an early victory in Europe, tens of thousands of essential workers have deserted their war jobs in a frenzy to get into work that would hold over into the post-war period. Others, mostly women, have simply quit and gone back into their homes.

While it should be pointed out that these workers are deserters quite as much as if they left their posts on the front line under fire, it is obvious that they should not bear all the blame. Our highest military authorities were as responsible as anyone for the assumption that the European war was approaching its end. The failure of Congress to make provision for retraining war workers or returning them to their homes after the war and its refusal to provide unemployment insurance to federal war workers led workers to feel that they must make their own post-war arrangements as soon as possible. The War Manpower Commission has sought to meet the problem by tighter controls, but it frankly admits that it does not have sufficient power to enforce its regulations either on the individual worker or on the civilian employer who pirates labor that is badly needed in the war industries. A greater sense of responsibility on the home front is needed if these restrictions are to be made reasonably effective. To a certain extent this has been achieved by the recent high-pressure publicity campaign in which high military authorities, from General Eisenhower down, have participated. The latest reports indicate a distinct slowing down in the exodus from war plants. But the problem of finding 300,000 additional workers to meet the new production schedules remains largely unsolved. If patriotic appeals and a tightening in man-power regulations are insufficient, Congress will be left with no other choice but to introduce the compulsory controls which it has thus far avoided. No other country has found voluntary controls adequate for an all-out war effort, and we have yet to prove that they will suffice here.

NEXT WEEK IN *THE NATION*

Stuart Chase, "Are Monopolies Inevitable?" The second in a series of articles.

The British, Bearing Gifts

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

MOST Americans are disposed to give our new Secretary of State the benefit of every doubt. He spoke strongly last week for the right of peoples to choose their own government, and he dissociated the United States from Britain's arbitrary veto of Count Sforza. By taking this position he undoubtedly gave encouragement to Churchill's critics at home, even though some of them, the Manchester *Guardian,* for example, rather tartly suggested that our past record scarcely justified a self-righteous attitude toward Britain's present behavior. And he seemed to set a tone of clarity and vigor that rang pleasantly in ears too long accustomed to timorous evasions and cynical excuses.

But the doubt remains. Were Mr. Stettinius's words just words, or were they the introduction of a new policy? It is too early to tell. If they implied a new policy, they were sensational indeed. If they did not, then they will sink like pebbles in a well, radiating only a few brief ripples. And after the ripples flatten out, the effect will not merely have died; it will have left behind it emptiness, disillusion, resentment.

Mr. Churchill either does not believe a new American policy is being born or he does not care, and the second is hardly conceivable. His speech in Commons was less an explanation of Britain's acts than a defiance of its critics. He reiterated his attacks on the left-wing Greek forces and admitted that the British occupation of Greece was not for the purpose of chasing out Germans but was to bolster up his hand-picked, spoon-fed Papandreou government. He made no excuses. He was the unregenerate Tory, cocksure, arrogant, contemptuous of criticism. He knew he had the Labor members cornered. By deliberately forcing debate on a question which involved in effect a vote of confidence, he maneuvered the opposition into a place where it had to support him, abstain, or take the responsibility for bringing the government down. He got his vote of confidence.

But the opposition was not wholly insignificant. Mr. Churchill's last previous vote of confidence was 425 to 23. The vote on Thursday was 229 to 52 with 33 Labor members abstaining. Some 150 other members, including 133 Conservatives, also failed to vote, whether as a mark of disapproval or for other reasons. But the opposition was enough to add up to a severe rebuke to the government's position. And when one counts in the disapproving comment in the press, in papers as far apart politically as the *Times* and the Manchester *Guardian,* the total is impressive. British governments have a tradition of giving ground before this sort of opposition, and I think we may expect attempts to smooth matters over in Belgium and Greece; while in Italy the new Bonomi government, minus Sforza and the Socialists but including the Communist leader, Togliatti, will provide a temporary compromise to bridge an awkward impasse.

But a Tory concession is not a new policy, as we should have learned long ago—after the Hoare affair in 1935, for example. The Churchill government does not change its basic attitude because of a flurry in Parliament or because a

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new American Secretary of State inaugurates his term with a few bold remarks about democracy and the rights of man. It is fighting for the position of Britain and the survival of the empire after the war, and it will let neither scruples nor admonitions stand in the way of the policy it believes will best advance that purpose. Britain's control of the Mediterranian, Britain's desire to build up a bloc of satellite nations in Western Europe, Britain's need to restore and enlarge its foreign trade, these are the factors that determine policy, whether it is expressed with tanks in the streets of Athens and Belgium or in formulas of traffic control at the air conference in Chicago. The only effective answer to the real question before the House of Commons last Thursday would have been a demonstration that Britain can be safer and stronger as part of a Europe in which the people are permitted to create governments without the help of British troops.

Presumably the British Labor Party believes that. Evidently Mr. Stettinius believes it, too. But Mr. Churchill does not believe it, and Mr. Churchill still commands a majority in the House of Commons and will continue to do so at least as long as war rages in Western Europe. The question is: can Mr. Churchill's mind be changed, or, since this is almost inconceivable, can he be persuaded or forced to adopt a different policy?

I think the chief hope of influencing the Prime Minister lies in Washington. If our new Secretary of State means what he says or, rather, if Mr. Roosevelt means what Mr. Stettinius says, things could change. And not otherwise. So in the end we get back to the words spoken in Washington last week and to the doubt that must lurk in the mind of any liberal American who has watched our foreign policy at close range.

I share the *Guardian's* ironic view of pious attitudes on the part of a government which connived at the triumph of Franco and the appeasement of Mussolini; which supported Pétain and fought De Gaulle until he established his control in the very teeth of our opposition. I agree that we come with badly smeared hands to the defense of the democratic forces of Italy and Greece. Nor am I encouraged by the shift of personnel in the State Department to expect that change of heart which would presage a change of policy. But one thing has happened in America which offers a valid excuse for optimism—moderate and tentative optimism. The energy of the progressives in the last election and the determination of the C. I. O.-P. A. C. to continue as a cohesive political power have introduced a new weight in the balance of forces in Washington today. The left is no longer merely a loose body of opinion. It is votes and it is organization. Its voice is still raised rather cautiously in matters of foreign policy, but I feel sure it will be heard, both in Congress and in the State Department. And I can say with certainty that garment workers in New York and automobile workers in Detroit don't like it when the workers of Belgium and Greece are shot at by Allied troops and prevented by force from choosing their own governments. They know what is happening in Europe and when Winston Churchill tells them that Greek guerrilla fighters are gangsters and Communists their anger is directed not at the guerrillas but at Mr. Churchill.

Instead of, or in addition to, directing well-aimed sneers at America's dubious record in foreign policy, I would suggest that British Labor and such major organs of liberal opinion as the Manchester *Guardian* devote their efforts to effecting the closest possible alliance with progressive elements in this country. The British Trade Union Congress has made an excellent start by bringing the C. I. O. into the international labor conference in February. I have no doubt that Sidney Hillman, now in England, will be of immense service in drawing the labor movements of the two countries nearer to each other.

Mr. Stettinius is more likely to turn his brave words into acts if he knows he has an articulate, progressive opinion behind him. And Mr. Churchill is more likely to accept a democratic solution of Britain's European problems if he knows that the State Department means business. It is up to the democrats of both countries to force their leaders to come to an early agreement which will end once and for all the slaughter and coercion of the resistance forces in the liberated countries.

Day of the Heroes

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

Monologue by a Young Veteran of This War Delivered in Tim Costello's Bar at Midnight on Pearl Harbor Day, 1944.

WELL, this is the day all right. This is the day when we remember the heroes and make a special effort to buy war bonds. I see they turned over the whole ground floor of Lord and Taylor's to selling the things. It was a patriotic duty, no less. Nothing's too good for our boys. Sure, I'll make the supreme sacrifice, I'll plunk down seventy-five bucks and get a hundred back in ten years.

Don't get me wrong. I know you're a vet too—where was it you got it, Alamein? Yeah, I remember now. I don't blame any of this on you. You're not a PFC. A Poor Frightened Civilian, I mean. That's what we called them on The Canal. But I don't blame them. They've been a long way from the shooting, and I've been home long enough now to see what a difference that makes. The only good the sirens are here is to set your watch Saturday noon. That makes a lot of difference, you know? Sure, you know. So I don't blame you. You've made a good thing of it, with those columns in *The Nation*. Oh yeah, I read those every week. I'm a little drunk, and maybe off my trolley a little tonight with remembering the guys in the outfit, and I could be wrong, but if you'll take my advice tell your editors to wise up. I see today they warned us to write Mr. Big and denounce the "forthcoming appointments," I think they called it, in the State Department—Clayton, our boy Nelson, Dunn, and the others. Three days after the appointments were announced. Well, it may have helped wise up the Senate. And last week they got steamed up about Jimmie Byrnes—three days after Stettinius was appointed. They ought to know by now Mr. Big moves faster than the eye. They got to *anticipate* a little more.

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Everything's changed, like that. I think I was more sure of what went on when I was on The Canal, almost. You know I was at Pearl on the Day. I stuck there awhile, and got a big boost out of the way the country pulled together. There was a real threat then, and everybody dropped his concern with Number One for awhile and went to work as an air-raid spotter. We were so nearly licked in those days. Everybody had a love affair with America all of a sudden. Then my outfit went in on The Canal. You know what it was, I guess—must have been pretty rugged about that time in the desert. But we were both hitting back, that was the thing, and I bet you felt the way I did—the country was behind us, with that fantastic job on production and everybody pulling for the war, and all the different countries forced to be friendly because they'd all sink if they weren't.

Those were rugged days, but now, I don't know. I think it's more rugged. Three years to a day, and we're just coming up against the hardest fighting, on both sides of the world. We're seeing the face of war and the face of death now; you know what I mean? I can get melodramatic about this, so stop me if I'm wrong.

Well, I've been reading the papers tonight. I don't usually, because they're pretty bad on the fighting. But tonight I thought, boy, we need iron in the soul like we never did before. Because why? Because victory is in sight, but we're going to have to pay a stiffer price for it now than we ever did. I memorized a figure: 522,018 United States casualties already, and that's only the beginning. Judge Patterson says more to come. You know that's true as far as Jerry's concerned; we're seeing now how he fights when he's licked and everybody knows it except him. With the Nip it's the same. Banzai charges. With Jerry it's that bloody, dogged resistance, and a long winter coming on. Let's be honest—you don't advance to within three and a half miles of Saarbrücken, like we did today, without bad casualties. They'll *fight* for that Saar, and they can pull almost anything out of the bag, like they did down in the Vosges when all the papers had them encircled and all of a sudden we and the French stopped advancing. Same in the east—the Russians get right up to Warsaw and Budapest and get a bloody nose, and everybody here forgets the Red Army never takes a city by frontal assault and says why are they stopping? But I bet they push into Austria before we get across the Cologne plain—which, as you say, is the key spot in the west—because we're closer to the heart there in the west than they are in the east.

The thing is more bitter now than it ever was, not only the fighting and the Jerry resistance but the way our jeeps feel. You know how it is in Italy—maybe they're cockeyed, but they think every death beyond Rome was no good. In the west they ration the ammunition—for once, through no fault of the papers or that "home front" we talk about; even General Marshall thought the war'd be over by now. So the army started cutting back heavy-shell estimates, the WPB talked about reconversion, and naturally the workers jumped out from under and looked for a good peace-time job. I don't see how they'll get them to go back, even if General Somervell made a fine speech before the N. A. M. All the trouble dates from the time we went chicken and turned down a national-service act—then's when the Pearl Harbor feeling left us, and it turned into every man for himself again.

But that doesn't look so good for the Nip war, does it? They're supposed to be on their heels, but on Pearl Harbor Day they raid Saipan and smash up some Superforts, land paratroops on Leyte, move in on Kweiyang, and are closer to knocking China out than they've ever been. Kunming is the next stop, and that's the end of the Fourteenth Air Force. Then maybe Chungking, or even Chengtu, and the end of B-29's bombing the factories in Manchuria. And their production of army planes is up—trouble when we move in toward the homeland.

I'll tell you a secret. The political thing is worse than the military thing. I suppose some of the guys from your regiment are in there shooting the E. L. A. S. in Greece. "Spitfires Strafe Leftists in Athens!" Christ! What kind of liberation *is* that? I don't know who's a Communist and who isn't, but if we're not in this thing for democratic reasons what *are* we in it for? And doesn't that mean the people can decide their own government? But *we've* been so backward that when Stettinius says it, everybody is startled and fears for United Nations unity. Can't you tell them Churchill and Eden don't stand for the British people on this thing? Can't you tell them our State Department didn't stand for us on the Darlan deal, or on this last deal with Franco about air lines?

You know this is important, because you know military affairs can't be separated from political affairs. And it's maybe even more important for the future than it is for now. Every little nest of fascism we leave now is going to mean trouble some day soon. R. A. F. bombers dropped two-ton blockbusters tonight on the Ruhr, it says here. What's that going to be in twenty-five years? It probably won't be anything, because the more important news is that today, even *today*, Jerry landed rocket bombs in England, with his bases so far away. It also says here that our boys have got the B-36 in experimentation, much bigger than the Superfort. But will we ever use those babies? Aren't we more likely to use the jet plane and the rocket plane, crossing the Atlantic in three hours, carrying either freight or bombs, passengers or air-borne troops?

You know the answer. We've *got* to get along. This war is already so tough we're sending the eighteen-year-olds overseas. But at Chicago they couldn't even agree on freedom of the air, and they never mentioned national security, though the airplane means the end of every old line of defense. We're going into Europe and Asia to restore a civilization at least partly destroyed, and we see the face of war; but how much have we learned from it? What radical—I mean deep-rooted in reality—ideas do we have about how tough the pull to victory will be, and how tough the pull to getting along with each other for peaceful ways?

I will tell you. We can handle it, us young guys, because we've been through the hell and boredom. Don't let the old men come out and take the victory from us; that's what we've got to guard against. We've got to build peace, jobs, and freedom at home and abroad, and we can do it because we've got the new idea. So many guys feel like you and I do, I know we can do it. But we've got to work together—and we've got a hell of a long row to hoe.

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New Front, Old Firm

BY I. F. STONE

ON DECEMBER 6, for the second time within a month of his reelection, Mr. Roosevelt suffered a sharp and wholesome defeat at the hands of a Senate coalition spearheaded by his own progressive supporters. The spectacle was in many ways an extraordinary one. A complete reorganization of the State Department was announced on Monday and railroaded through the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Tuesday by its lordly chairman, Tom Connally. Though New Dealers here were appalled by the slate of nominees to fill the top offices of the department, only two newspapers, *PM* and the Philadelphia *Record,* expressed opposition, and Senate confirmation seemed a foregone conclusion. It is not often that the Senate overrules its powerful Foreign Relations Committee, and the Administration, mindful of its earlier post-election defeat on the proposed Jones-Clayton appointments to the Surplus Property Board, was moving quickly. The nominations were called up for Senate confirmation on Wednesday before the character of the new appointees could be adequately discussed or studied. But on Wednesday, while Connally raged angrily up and down the Senate floor, the Senate voted thirty-seven to twenty-seven to send them back to committee for hearings.

Not the strangest part of that strange debate Wednesday was the exchange of roles by the party leaders in the Senate. Lister Hill of Alabama, the acting Democratic floor leader, sat silent, unable to stomach the appointment of Will Clayton as Assistant Secretary of State. Hill felt impelled by his position as Administration whip to vote against recommittal but could not bring himself to defend the nominations. It was left to Senator Wallace White of Maine, the Republican floor leader, to assure reluctant New Deal Senators that "these nominees will not be the men who will determine the foreign policy of the United States. They will be subordinates who will carry out the policies determined by the President of the United States. They will speak for him. They will speak in behalf of the policies upon which he determines, and which he seeks to effectuate."

These assurances and their source appear less odd when one glances at the nominations. Joseph Clark Grew, named to the Under Secretaryship, last filled that post from 1924 to 1927 under Calvin Coolidge. Nelson Rockefeller, one of three new nominations to Assistant Secretaryships, is the son of a family which in 1944, as in past elections, was one of the largest contributors to the Republican campaign fund. Clayton, also named Assistant Secretary, was a contributor to both the Liberty League and its Dixie counterpart, the Southern Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government. His closest business associate, Lamar Fleming, Jr., executive head of Clayton's giant cotton firm, Anderson, Clayton and Company, was—with Jesse Jones's nephew, George Butler—one of the principal backers of the anti-New Deal Electoral College conspiracy in Texas. For the Republican floor leader to oppose such nominations would have been ingratitude, not partisanship. These three, with Mr. Roosevelt's new Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., were indeed what the Philadelphia *Record* called them, "four of a kind," and it was known at the time of the debate that two more of the same variety were coming. James Clement Dunn and Brigadier General Julius Holmes have since been nominated Assistant Secretaries of State, and they are, if anything, to the right of Clayton and Grew.

Brightly adorning this uniformly rightist dish, like a single maraschino cherry, was the nomination of one gifted, but I fear innocuous, liberal, Archibald MacLeish, also named Assistant Secretary of State. This, which was intended to make the reorganization palatable to progressives, proved a crucial mistake. It did not keep such New Dealers as Guffey, Kilgore, Mead, Murray, O'Mahoney, and Wagner from voting for recommittal, and it brought them the support of some isolationists and anti-New Dealers, many of whom objected only to MacLeish. The fourth element in the coalition which forced the appointments back to committee for hearings was made up of such cotton-state Senators as Bankhead, Bilbo, Maybank, and Russell, who regard Clayton, quite correctly, as an exploiter and enemy of the cotton farmer. These, with Taft, Holman, and "Happy" Chandler, made a strange set of bedfellows for liberals, but the Administration found itself as embarrassingly bedded down. It was supported by Tydings, Bailey, Vandenberg, McKellar, "Puddler Jim" Davis, and Pappy O'Daniel. And Byrd of Virginia, though unavoidably absent during the debate, issued a statement the next day strongly indorsing the new appointments.

The White House may well blush for the company in which it found itself, but progressives need make no apology for the coalition with which they succeeded in forcing hearings on these nominees. With the exception of Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson, they represent a complete change in the personnel at the top of the State Department. Legally, these appointments can only be made with the advice and consent of the Senate; a summary executive hearing and perfunctory vote hardly fulfil the spirit of this requirement. Actually, the people of this country have a right to know much more than they do about the opinions and connections of the men named to conduct their foreign affairs, and to consider these before the Senate votes on confirmation. It is only against such a background of public understanding and interest that a democratic foreign policy can be achieved. The fatuous few on the left who would take the President's intentions for granted and naively assume that the men he appoints, whatever their own views, will faithfully carry out a liberal foreign policy display remarkably short memories. They can usefully recall what happened during the Spanish civil war and again during the North African invasion. They cannot ask us to accept these

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appointments on faith and then at some future date complain of a new Darlanism.

That the peace can only be made by a coalition of internationalists of all varieties is true, and that is why there was so little opposition to the appointment of Stettinius. It was assumed that the reorganized State Department would represent all elements prepared to support Dumbarton Oaks—spokesmen for internationally-minded finance and business as well as representatives of the common folk of this country who made the President's reelection possible. But it is the blindest kind of wishful thinking to regard this new State Department slate as a coalition. The *Daily Worker* says the President has named "men representing a united front of varying political and economic opinions," and Samuel Grafton of the New York *Post* likewise finds that the President has appointed "men of varying shades of opinion." There are differences among them. Stettinius and Grew are linked by birth and marriage respectively with the firm of J. P. Morgan and Company, while Rockefeller's connection is with Chase National. Jimmy Dunn married into the meat-packing Armours, and Clayton is the world's most powerful cotton factor. But these differences hardly constitute them a united front, and the "varying shades" of their opinions and those of General Holmes are all at one end of the political spectrum and perceptible only, if at all, under minute examination. That they propose to let a solitary liberal, Archibald MacLeish, handle their cultural relations is magnanimous of them.

With the exception of Clayton this is a slate of gracious but dangerous nonentities. Rockefeller and Stettinius are affable young men, carefully brought up by wealthy families and still dependent on behind-the-scenes nursemaids. Rockefeller's principal Nannie, while he has been Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, has been the shrewd, smooth, hard-boiled Joe Rovensky of the Chase National Bank. Hands as skilled guide Stettinius's perambulator. His one talent is soft-soaping liberals, but the real outlook of those behind him is indicated by his reorganization of the State Department. With the exception of Grew, who was the President's choice, these men were all picked by Stettinius. There was one good Assistant Secretary, Dean Acheson, a corporation lawyer by trade but a well-informed and enlightened middle-of-the-roader. He was doing a good job in economic affairs but is to take over the task of "fronting" for the department in its relations with Congress, a post in which, if he keeps it, he will find himself apologizing for much with which he will disagree. Not one of the new men is faintly progressive except MacLeish, who like Acheson will have a job of explaining to do.

General Holmes, from all I can learn of him, is a political moron, an incredible mixture of career diplomat and brass hat. He has been chief of General Eisenhower's civil-affairs staff and before that was a foreign-service official, vice-president of the New York World's Fair, and president of General Mills of Brazil. People who knew him in North Africa say he was considerably to the right of Robert Murphy, and once at a dinner party solemnly opined that the United States had had a labor government for twelve years. Another government source I trust tells me that in July, 1943, Holmes was urged to get Italian anti-fascist prisoners off the penal islands and make heroes of them. Holmes thought it would be a good idea to smuggle them behind the lines to join the workers of Milan and Turin. After all, he said, now that Italy has surrendered we must persuade the workers of Europe that this war is anti-German, not anti-fascist. Goofy as it sounds, my informant swears that he heard Holmes say exactly this.

James C. Dunn's pro-Franco views are notorious. "I can't see how the Spanish war had any effect on the present European war," he told a *PM* interviewer in 1941. Former Ambassador Dodd seems to have thought him an ignoramus. Hull liked to play croquet on the lawn of the Dunn estate. As chief of the Protocol Division in Coolidge's day, Dunn was a sensation; Robert Bendiner in his "Riddle of the State Department" disclosed that it was Dunn who ruled that Dolly Gann took precedence over Mrs. Longworth. As political adviser on European affairs during the Hitler decade, Dunn was a flop. Grew is of the same social stratum and also an old-school-tie diplomat. He is a much abler and better-informed man than Dunn but proved a poor administrator the last time he was Under Secretary. Drew Pearson, who knows the State Department, says Grew "got Mr. Kellogg into more hot water in Mexico and Nicaragua than the State Department had seen in years." His principal contribution to current foreign policy is the notion that we must do nothing to offend Hirohito. Many people agree with him, but I find it difficult to understand just how they expect to use the emperor to bring into being a democratic and unwarlike Japan.

The real power in the department, if he gets the job, will be Clayton, a man of outstanding ability, supremely competent and ruthless. He is hated by the cotton growers of the South. His firm—Anderson, Clayton—is the largest purchaser of cotton, the dominant concern in the New York Cotton Exchange, and by far the largest ginner in the newer Arizona and California cotton fields, where it played a major part in organizing and financing the semi-fascist Associated Farmers. He helped the Nazis get cotton before the war, despite the boycott and Treasury anti-barter rulings, and also supplied the Japanese. More than half his company's $60,000,000 in assets are abroad—an interesting qualification for an Assistant Secretary of State in charge of foreign economic affairs. He has opposed virtually every New Deal measure, especially those designed to raise the price of cotton, and he is a free trader—opposed to any interference with supply and demand except his own, and that has been considerable, as attested by several Congressional investigations. As Jesse Jones's right-hand man, he was responsible for many of the delays in purchasing war materials of which Wallace complained in the BEW fight last year.

Unlike Hull, as the Senate revolt indicates, he is a political liability, above all in the South. I warn the wishful thinkers: men of his kind, now "internationalist," can turn anti-Soviet, anti-British, and imperialist overnight; and that applies to some at least of the other nominees. Any one or two of them, balanced by progressives, might give us a State Department suited politically to the needs of the moment. A State Department packed with them would be a catastrophe, not a coalition.

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Dr. Gallup on the Mat

BY BENJAMIN GINZBURG

IT WAS announced last week that the House Campaign Expenditures Committee, headed by that wiry and stubborn New Dealer from New Mexico, Clinton Anderson, would go to Princeton to study the Gallup election polls. The story as it appeared in the press must have puzzled a great many newspaper readers. It quoted William A. Lydgate, editor of the Gallup polls, as saying that "the invitation to the House Campaign Investigating Committee to examine our ballots is the same as invitations extended to other governmental departments which have found our survey results useful in administrative work from time to time." The whole thing sounded as if the Gallup organization, having in a spirit of enlightened public service assisted the executive departments in the discharge of their activities, was now putting its vast store of knowledge at the disposal of a Congressional committee in order to assist it, too, in carrying out its functions.

Since the committee's course of study at the Gallup Institute may be protracted, I will relieve the readers' suspense by giving the facts behind its visit. In the first place, the committee is not undertaking an invited course of study *with* Dr. Gallup but an uninvited study *of* Dr. Gallup. In the second place, it is doing so to check on "numerous reports that the poll might have been used to influence" the outcome of the Presidential election. Let me say at once that the Anderson investigation is destined to be thorough, complete, and impartial. The technical staff includes such nationally known experts on election trends, on sampling, and on polling problems as Louis H. Bean, Rensis Likert, Philip Hauser, and Morris H. Hansen. If the investigation proceeds without obstruction and finds everything in order, it will render an immense service to Dr. Gallup—as well as to the general public—by dissipating once and for all the suspicion of political manipulation.

But why has it been necessary to start this long process of Congressional investigation in order to clear up something which could have been settled informally in very short order? Dr. Gallup has always advertised that "polls have no secrets," and that "their results are open to anyone who has a bona fide interest in examining the results." If this assurance had been lived up to, there would have been no need to conduct an investigation at the taxpayers' expense. The fact is that several informal attempts were made to check facts and figures with Dr. Gallup, and that all ended in failure.

I myself, in collaboration with an expert statistician, tried to clear up the puzzles of this year's Gallup reports. The central puzzle was why Gallup's national percentages for Roosevelt and Dewey remained frozen at 51-49 throughout the year—except in the final, day-before-election report, when they shifted to 51.5-48.5. The 51-49 figures were first announced in Gallup's report of February 20 as representing the breakdown of party preferences. They were reaffirmed on April 23 as the result of a trial heat which assumed Roosevelt and Dewey would be the candidates. Thus the national figures, indicating, as Gallup said, a practically even race, remained unchanged all the while it was widely believed that the electorate's apathy and the prospects of a low turn-out in November were dimming Democratic chances, and they were still unchanged after the heavy registration in the large industrial centers had raised Democratic hopes.

A secondary, but in many ways more intriguing, puzzle was the remarkable behavior of Gallup's state-by-state figures, the figures which reveal the candidate's standing in Electoral College votes. With the over-all national figures mysteriously frozen, the state-by-state figures showed Roosevelt's strength in the Electoral College first sagging slightly, and then going down sharply, while Dewey's strength grew. Thus in the August polls Roosevelt had 286 electoral votes and Dewey 245; in the September polls Roosevelt had 284 electoral votes, Dewey 208, and 39 votes were "on the line"; but in the polls released during the crucial month of October, Dewey was in the lead with 255 votes, the President trailed with 206, and 70 votes were "on the line."

During the weeks before election the crowds that stood before newspaper bulletin boards all over the country were entranced by illuminated maps showing Dewey's enormous lead over the President. The bulletin boards created the illusion that all Dewey needed for victory was to capture eleven of the seventy "on-the-line" votes, whereas the President needed sixty of the seventy. In a radio discussion on the night before the election Mr. Lydgate, Gallup's editor, revealed the truth about Dewey's prospects: he likened his chances for victory to the chances of "completing seventeen forward passes in a row!" But the crowds before the bulletin boards did not know that; they got the impression of an irresistible Dewey trend. I have since been informed that that is exactly what Gallup himself was telling the Republican high command. In an off-the-record speech at the University Club in New York, about a week before the election, he is reported to have told a group of prominent Republicans that while in past campaigns the Republican candidates started out with high electoral strength and petered out, in this campaign Dewey, starting with moderate electoral strength, had shown such gains as to assure his going over the top.

In his poll reports at the end of October Gallup publicly declared that his current figures took into account the Democratic gains from greater registration, but that "increased evidence of Dewey strength found during the last couple of weeks has offset any advantage which the Democrats have gained through increased registration in the large industrial centers of the nation." At that time I made my first attempt to clear up the puzzles posed by the Gallup figures. I wrote the Washington *Post*, which carries the Gallup polls in that city, that I had heard rumors that the Gallup sample

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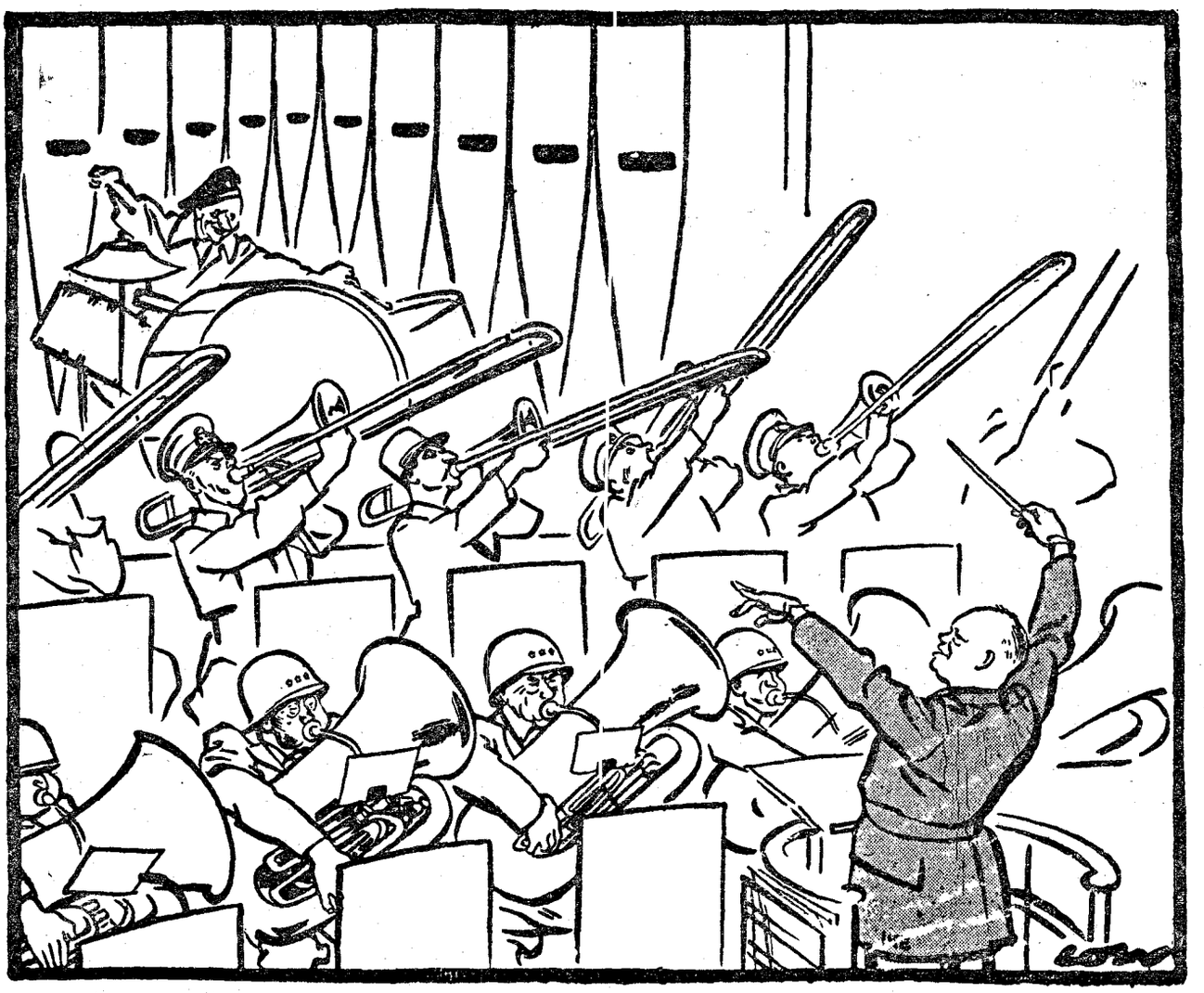
polls had originally shown a 54-46 breakdown and that Gallup had adjusted the Roosevelt percentage downward to 51 on the basis of his theory of an abnormally low turnout in November. These rumors, I said, were consistent with his current statement; there was nothing illegitimate in his using adjustment factors on top of the raw figures, but the public was entitled to have both the raw figures and the adjustment factors, so that anybody who disagreed with the reasonableness of the adjustments could still use the scientifically compiled poll findings and come out with a different prediction as to the election.

In reply Dr. Gallup, under date of November 2, did not deny the rumors I referred to but declared that the Democratic gains from increased registration "have been almost exactly counterbalanced by two factors—results from nationwide tests with secret ballots which tend to bring a slightly higher Dewey figure and evidences of a Dewey trend." My polite request for precise information was dismissed in these words: "All of these facts should be recorded in detail in the scholarly journals for the benefit of technicians in this field. It is a question of how much of this information newspaper readers would like to have."

Three days after this categorical assertion of "evidences of a Dewey trend," Gallup released his final, day-before-election poll, which revealed, not a Dewey trend, but an increase in the Roosevelt national percentage to 51.5 and a rise in the Roosevelt electoral vote from 206 to 292. The headline—written by Gallup—read: "Final Gallup Report Gives Roosevelt Slight Vote Edge Over Dewey." It is perhaps worth noting that—as I have since learned through a written communication from Dr. Gallup—the figures for this final poll were complete and ready on the very day Dr. Gallup penned his statement to the *Post* affirming the evidences of a Dewey trend.

Without waiting for this final report, which many persons predicted would show Gallup hedging on his anti-Roosevelt predictions, I wrote him that as a serious student of polling techniques I should like to come to Princeton to look over his figures. After waiting a week for a reply, I decided to make the trip uninvited. I took with me a friend who is a recognized statistician and sampling expert so that there would be no chance of being refused access to the figures, for lack of scientific competence.

We talked to Dr. Gallup and to three members of his staff. But while we were regaled with all sorts of vague explanations, we got nary a glimpse of the work sheets or any of the actual figures. On my return to Washington I refused to confess myself beaten. I wrote Dr. Gallup that inasmuch as we had been discouraged from looking at the work sheets, I would ask him for a practical equivalent—I would like



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to have him prepare a quantitative account of all the adjustments he had used, giving the polls in which they figured and the formulas and justifications for each of them. For this purpose I inclosed a detailed questionnaire. Two days later I talked with Dr. Gallup by telephone and was assured that the information would be forthcoming, that it would take time to prepare, and that I would be notified in a day or so how long a time would be required.

I am still waiting. Instead of this information, I received after a week a long letter from Dr. Gallup which began, "Although it is not possible to answer in the detail which your questions suggest, I think I can answer in this letter most of the important points which you bring up." From this preface one can judge the contents of the rest of the letter.

In the absence of precise answers from Dr. Gallup, I am compelled to sum up my convictions on the basis of incomplete evidence. I believe, however, they should be helpful in adducing the full facts. Unless the Anderson investigation is supported by an informed and aroused public opinion, it is likely to bog down.

1. There is some evidence of bad practice in the 1940 campaign. In that campaign Gallup admitted (New York *Times*, November 25, 1940) throwing away his final poll, which showed figures disputing the Willkie trend he had been predicting: "The final ballot which the Institute received on Saturday before the election from its interviewing staff, using regular and normal procedures, showed an upturn for Roosevelt to 53.9 per cent. In order to get a last-minute check on sentiment, we experimented with a nation-wide telegraphic poll, instructing our interviewers to do as much of their interviewing as possible early Sunday morning, and to file their reports by three o'clock Sunday afternoon. . . . The result of this telegraphic poll brought our national Roosevelt figure down to 52 per cent." It was this set of figures, and not the figures of his rejected regular poll, that Gallup published as his final results the day before election. After election he pleaded: "This experiment . . . should be charged to bad management and not research."

2. This year's record shows a pro-Dewey set in the Gallup polls. The set was established in the first instance by writing down the Roosevelt percentage on the basis of an expected low turn-out in November. There does not appear to have been any scientific basis for estimating either the national turn-out or the state-by-state turn-outs or for measuring the drop in the Roosevelt vote by states on the assumption of a low turn-out.

3. When it became evident that the turn-out would be large, new adjustments were made. Gallup used an adjustment for the secret ballot, saying that the results shown by this method were less favorable to Roosevelt—although, given the margin of error inherent in all sampling operations, he had no right to assume that the secret-ballot results were statistically more reliable than the results of the open ballot. He told the Washington *Post* that the secret ballot changed the Dewey vote "slightly," but he now states in a letter to me that it amounted to two percentage points—a major adjustment.

4. The adjustment for the "veracity" of the voters interviewed in the Gallup polls—another adjustment made during the closing weeks of the campaign—appears fantastic. Voters were asked to state how they voted in 1940, and on the basis of a discrepancy between the percentages thus compiled and the actual 1940 election figures, Gallup adjusted downward the Roosevelt percentage in his 1944 polls.

5. The final poll of November 6 was a synthetic product in a number of ways. Gallup insists that the national figures were obtained from an intensive or "pin-point" survey of forty areas in five "barometer" states, that these figures, which were more reliable than his previously published figures reached by other methods, were ready only on November 2, and thus could not have been used in his earlier reports. Unfortunately this poll carried only a national figure. Where did Gallup get the state-by-state figures which he published in his final report? The most intensive questioning has failed to elicit an answer.

There are a great many other questions that might be raised about the Gallup polls. But enough has been said to indicate that the Anderson committee has a real job on its hands.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON will probably not be led by Smedley Butler or by any of the gentlemen publicly mentioned in connection with the fascist plot which flared and died in last week's news. But General Butler's assertion that he has had forty-two offers to head a fascist coup is not as funny as it sounds. Nor is it accidental that the air is filled with rumors of such coups. The basic maladjustments from which fascism arises are growing sharper as the months go by.—*December 5, 1934.*

AMBASSADOR SAITO'S ANNOUNCEMENT that Japan will denounce the Washington Naval Treaty comes as a surprise to no one. Even before the recent conversations were started in London, it was generally recognized that the positions of Japan and the United States were irreconcilable.—*December 5, 1934.*

A YEAR OF LEGAL LIQUOR: The extraordinary thing about the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment is how little difference it has made. I know for a fact that the prohibition brethren looked for a gaudy saturnalia of boozing, very useful to their cause, and I suspect that many of the brewers, distillers, and vintners entertained the same beatific vision. But, as everyone knows, there has been nothing of the sort. —H. L. MENCKEN, *December 12, 1934.*

"I AM NEITHER Republican, Democrat, nor Socialist. I glory in the fact that I am a simple Catholic priest endeavoring to inject Christianity into the fabric of an economic system woven upon the loom of greed by the cunning fingers of those who manipulate the shuttles of human lives for their own selfish purposes." This is the crudely poetic language which has come through the millions of loud speakers and brought millions of responses. But in the sixteen planks there is no word of democratic government, and the right of free speech is not mentioned. The omission is not what his listeners asked, and they probably did not notice it. But it is a significant feature in the Coughlin program.—RAYMOND GRAM SWING, *December 26, 1934.*

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Medicine Without Microscopes

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Lublin, November 24

HOW can we run a university without books? Without miscroscopes? Without charts or laboratory equipment? Yet somehow we must begin. Poland cannot wait while the politicians settle their differences. More than half of our physicians and probably 70 per cent of our professors and scientists have either been murdered by the usual Nazi methods or have sickened and died from the conditions of war. We must begin immediately to train new physicians, new scientists, new intellectual leaders for our devastated land."

In these words Dr. Waclaw Rabe, former professor of zoology at Lvov University and now rector of the new "Curie University" just opened in Lublin, described the task before him. He sat in my room in this snowbound, overcrowded Polish city, capital of the liberated Polish areas, and talked about the new university's needs, hoping that through me he might reach some Americans who know him and could help him.

With him was Dr. Edward Grzegorzewski, a graduate of Johns Hopkins and former professor of public health in the Warsaw State School of Hygiene, who is now organizing the College of Medicine in Curie University. He showed me first his Johns Hopkins diploma and then with a wry smile presented a letter from the Rockefeller Foundation, dated 1941, stating that the funds granted him in 1939 for scientific travel in Europe had lapsed because, owing to "unfortunate conditions," he had been unable to make the contemplated trip. What a masterpiece of understatement! The "unfortunate conditions" preventing Doctor Grzegorzewski's scientific jaunt across Europe were caused by the most frightful war in history.

After occupying Poland, the Nazis murdered or jailed the Polish intellectuals and closed all the universities and secondary schools; a few trade schools were allowed to remain open to prepare skilled slave workers. When the Red Army entered Lublin three months ago the small Catholic University there immediately reopened with the assistance of the Polish Committee of Liberation. Since this university teaches only divinity, law, and the humanities, the Committee, which is the de facto government of liberated Poland, though it avoids the name, decided to open a state university with faculties of medicine, animal diseases, pharmacy, science, and agriculture. A three-story building with sixty rooms, a former *Gymnasium*, was put at Dr. Rabe's disposal. Several rooms in a hospital were also provided for a clinic. This was all the Committee could give him except good wishes and a multitude of students. Six hundred immediately applied.

"What is there in the building except bare walls?" I asked. "Plenty of fresh air," replied Dr. Grzegorzewski. Most of the windows are broken, and Poland has no glass factory.

The windows were mended or boarded over. Desks, tables, and benches were rapidly supplied. "Everything that can be made of wood we have already or are making," said Dr. Rabe. Local physicians patriotically contributed microscopes. Half a dozen others were unearthed in all of Lublin—the Germans had found the rest. Local physicians also donated two thermostats for cultures. "We need two hundred microscopes and fifteen thermostats," said Dr. Rabe. "Glassware for chemistry experiments is non-existent. There are no dyes to color slides, no raw materials of any description. Most of all, we want books, books, books. We must regain the contact with modern science that we have lost during these five years. We want books on anatomy, zoology, botany, medicine, on every subject, in either Polish or English. Our professors now must teach from memory, and they cannot always remember the formulas. Our memories have been broken by five years of living like hunted beasts."

I asked Dr. Rabe whether he had enough professors. He replied, "We have enough for this university but shall not have when all Poland has been liberated. We now have professors from Warsaw, Vilno, Lvov, Posnan." Many are well-known persons, including some who were once connected with the Rockefeller Foundation. I cannot give their names since their families are still in German-occupied territory. I asked whether the six hundred students applying had the proper preparation. Rabe replied that all had graduated from secondary schools before the war or from underground schools during the war. "However, we can't possibly take the whole six hundred. They need not only books and laboratory equipment but also shoes and clothing and even the simplest things, like aprons. We can take two or three hundred now and the remainder in January if help arrives."

No second- or third-year work will be done this year. But a fourth- and fifth-year course has been planned for a special group who have been practicing emergency surgery in the army but have not had full medical training. A month ago the new Polish army ordered all young people with any medical schooling whatever to report for duty. Now the army has decided to send all who have had three or more years of medical training to the university for a rapid finishing course. Eighty such students have already applied, and perhaps two hundred are expected.

Fifteen days ago Doctor Rabe attended the opening of another medical school in Praga, a Warsaw suburb lying between the opposing armies. In the recent battle for Warsaw the old Polish hospital named the Transfiguration of Christ was destroyed by German bombs. The doctors moved the patients out and reestablished the hospital in a school building. Several professors from Warsaw then opened advanced medical courses. They found a hundred students hungry to learn. This hospital is still under bombardment. Three professors, seven nurses, and fifteen patients were killed by one bomb. Students come to school under fire. But this does not

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trouble them greatly. Their worst trial is the complete lack of equipment. They are hampered also in their learning by the lack of shoes, clothing, and food.

Hundreds of students and dozens of professors from other faculties are besieging the Lublin government, demanding that other universities be opened. Because this small city is the only considerable town in fairly good condition—the Germans were driven out unexpectedly—it is terrifically overcrowded with every kind of activity. Despite the seeming impossibility, the government expects to open a polytechnic and a social-economic university sometime during the winter.

Thus far the only foreign relief of any kind reaching Poland has been flour and medical supplies sent by Stalin. Though gifts were collected in America, their whereabouts are unknown. Everyone anxiously awaits the arrival of authorized representatives from America to discuss the desperate situation of this longest-suffering of all the countries that have felt Hitler's might.

Funk—Father of the Vitamin

BY BENJAMIN HARROW

CASIMIR FUNK recently celebrated his sixtieth birthday. The event was of interest, for Funk is the "father" of the vitamin: he not only coined the name but did much of the scientific work which established its identity. Like many another discoverer, he has seen his find put to both good and evil use. It is doubtful whether more than a small fraction of the $250,000,000 which the American public spent on vitamin capsules and concentrates during the past year brought any therapeutic return. Indeed, the effective ballyhoo of the advertiser has thrust vitamins down the throat of the gullible public to the point where they have become a menace; people have been led to believe that they need give little attention to a scientifically planned diet if they gorge on vitamin pills. Another touch of irony is that while probably 90 per cent of those who buy vitamin pills do not need them, the very poor, who cannot afford to buy them, might improve their health by taking them as a supplement to their one-sided diet.

Of course many sick persons can benefit from increasing their vitamin intake. And there is a great lack of vitamins in the diet of the undernourished people of Europe and Asia. But the real need of these people is not so much for vitamins as for plain ordinary food yielding enough calories to nourish the body. It cannot be too strongly stressed that vitamins do not take the place of calories: an insufficient amount of fat, carbohydrate, and protein in the diet will cause starvation even if there is a superabundance of vitamins.

Funk was born in Warsaw, Poland, the son of a well-known dermatologist. At sixteen he was sent to Berne to study organic chemistry under Kostanecki, an authority on plant pigments. In due time Funk received his Ph.D., having submitted a thesis dealing with derivatives of stilbene. This was prophetic, for a closely allied stilbene compound is now in use as a substitute for the natural female hormone —Funk was to pioneer in hormones later.

Several years were spent at the Pasteur Institute in Paris, where Bertrand was the biochemist, and where Roux and Metchnikov reigned supreme; and at the University of Berlin, under the guidance of the great Emil Fischer, the master of protein chemistry. Next Funk went to the Lister Institute in London, on the promise that he could carry on independent work there. Despite unforeseen obstacles, he found here his great opportunity. Charles Martin, the director of the institute, had heard much about beriberi in India, China, and Japan, and had adopted the view that the disease was caused by a lack of protein in the polished rice eaten by the natives; in this he differed with the Dutch investigator, Eijkman, who had experimentally induced beriberi in birds and believed that the disease was the result of some toxin. Funk quickly established the fact that beriberi was caused neither by a deficient supply of protein nor by a toxin, but by the lack of a very definite substance present in rice polishings and absent from polished rice. While the substance—now known as thiamin—was not isolated till many years later, Funk's chemical work paved the way for this accomplishment. He also identified nicotinic acid in the concentrated substance—the ingredient whose lack is the causative factor in pellagra, as Elvehjem was to show some twenty-five years later.

Funk boldly proclaimed that the "deficiency" disease of beriberi was no isolated case and that rickets, pellagra, and scurvy were all due to the absence from the diet of minute quantities of certain essential compounds, to which he now gave the name "vitamins." There were, of course, others before Funk who had had ideas on this subject. There was Takaki, surgeon-general of the Japanese army, who in the eighties of the last century conducted experiments which led him to believe that the disease incapacitating so many Japanese soldiers was due to an insufficient supply of protein. This idea was picked up by Martin and conveyed to Funk in 1910. There was Eijkman, working in the East Indies around the turn of the century. There was Hopkins in England, who published accounts of the importance of "accessory food substances." Later McCollum, Mendel, Osborne, and others in this country did good work in preparation for the new discoveries.

But Funk deserves the major credit, first, because of the conclusive evidence he presented that a vitamin was a very definite chemical entity; and, second, because of his grand generalization that various vitamins—not just one—were necessary for normal health: the absence of any one of them from the diet would give rise to a characteristic "food-deficiency" disease. To realize how startling was this idea, it should be recalled that, with the exception of various metabolic disturbances, diseases were associated by physicians of the day with the virulent micro-organisms which the labors

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of Pasteur and others had so impressed on men's minds.

During the First World War, Funk, dissatisfied with his prospects, decided to come to America. The years that followed were filled with research for industry. He was the first to make adrenaline and salvarsan in this country—these products had hitherto been imported from Germany. He continued his vitamin investigations and published many papers in technical journals.

In 1923, at the instigation of a fellow-Pole, Dr. Rajchman, head of the health division of the League of Nations, Funk accepted the directorship of the biochemical department at the State Institute of Hygiene in his native city of Warsaw, a project supported by the Rockefeller Foundation. The unsettled political condition of the country made working difficult, but during his four years' stay in Warsaw Funk published dozens of papers with various collaborators. The crying need for carefully prepared extracts containing insulin gradually turned his thoughts to the general subject of hormones—a field in which his next important contribution was to be made.

In 1927 Funk settled near Paris. Here he announced his second great discovery, made in collaboration with Lejwa, a fellow-Pole, and the writer of this article—the preparation of an extract containing the male hormone derived from male urine.

Such men as Voronov, with their "glands" and their methods of "rejuvenation," had done much to discredit sex research. Physiologists, however, were giving serious attention to the possibility that the reproductive organs elaborate hormones in the same way that the thyroid elaborates thyroxine and the adrenals manufacture adrenaline. The key difficulty was the problem of devising a "test method"—that is, a reliable method of detecting the hormone. At this point a French biologist, Pézard, came to the rescue. He showed that when the testicles of a cock are removed, its comb and wattles wither. Since it was already known that hormones travel through the blood, the assumption was made that excess quantities might be discharged into the urine—much as urea and other products in the urine come from the blood. With this in mind, Funk and his associates prepared various urinary extracts and injected them into castrated cocks. The results were clear-cut: the injections caused a marked resumption of the growth of the comb and wattles of a castrated bird. Of course, male hormones—there are several of them, and they have since been chemically isolated—are not a rejuvenating factor; no progress has yet been made in this direction. But both male and female hormones have been used with some success to overcome sex disturbances.

The Second World War has brought Funk back again to America, his mind still teeming with fruitful ideas which he imparts to others freely. Many scientists in the colleges and in industry acknowledge the inspiration they have gained from contact with Casimir Funk. Funk never has been a plodder on the long road of scientific advance. He is usually ahead of the ideas warranted by established scientific work. Sometimes one feels that his imagination is more like that of a poet than a scientist. Certainly he is a man of amazing intuitions. If he has seldom received the public recognition that should be his, his name will eventually be recorded on the roster of the great.

In the Wind

A NEGRO SAILOR in the United States navy reports that on his last trip to England he and a friend went to an American Red Cross club in a port town and were turned away at the door with these words: "This isn't an English club; it's an American one."

FROM AN EDITORIAL in the Chicago *Tribune* of November 29: "The news from abroad makes it clear that Europeans generally have no real appreciation of the sacrifices that the war has imposed on America."

ALNICO, a highly magnetic aluminum alloy developed by Professor Tokushici Mishima of Tokyo Imperial University and introduced into this country shortly before the war, is now being used in American military radios and other equipment. In releasing this information to the press, E. F. McDonald, president of Zenith Radio Corporation, took occasion to say, "The little yellow Jap is being nicked daily with his own alnico."

YANK, the army magazine, doesn't think much of the postwar world the advertisements offer. "The homes that wait for us," it says in its issue of December 1, "will be a tidy combination of Hans Christian Andersen and Jules Verne. They will be inch-thick with glass and plastic, but they will have all the allure of the rose-covered cottage of honeymoon dreams. Television receivers, thinly disguised as tiger-skin rugs, will disgorge fried chicken from a hidden glove compartment. It will be a world like you've never seen this side of a Section VIII ward. It will be homey and new, and shiny and soft, and cheap and expensive, and thick and thin, and sharp and dull. It will be everything and nothing."

A HEADLINE in the financial section of the New York *Times* of December 6 said, "Stocks Go Through Highs for October." The story explained the boom thus: "Some brokers said that investment circles viewed favorably the shake-up in the State Department in Washington, and predicted that henceforth diplomacy and business would be tied closely together."

AN ARTICLE in the London *Daily Mail* discussing the Nazis' new rocket bomb concludes: "Transatlantic rocket shells of up to 100 tons must now be regarded as a distinct possibility within five years."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Danish underground publishers have printed more than a million copies of such books as Willkie's "One World," Rauschning's "Men Around Hitler," and Steinbeck's "The Moon Is Down." German officials sometimes find copies on their desks.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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We Save the King

BY MARIO BELLINI

THE struggle between monarchist and anti-monarchist forces in Italy, for a long time thinly concealed beneath a superficial political truce, has at last broken out into the open. On November 1 Prince Humbert, Lieutenant General of the Realm, told Herbert Matthews, correspondent of the New York *Times*, that he desired to have Italy choose its form of government by a plebiscite. The first act of the Bonomi government had been to decide that Italy's political future was to be settled by a Constituent Assembly, and the Lieutenant General had accepted this decision. Though he has now changed his mind, the government has not, and on November 7 it reaffirmed "its solemn pledge to decide the constitutional issue through the vote of a Constituent Assembly established by the law of the state."

In supporting the plebiscite the monarchists are trying to play the old game at which European reaction was so successful during the past century. No doubt they remember how beautifully plebiscites worked for Napoleon III, Mussolini, and Hitler, who obtained their majorities by corruption and terror, by exploiting both the emotionalism of the people and their poverty. The anti-monarchists insist on a Constituent Assembly, chosen by the people and charged with the responsibility of drafting a constitution. Only such a constitution, they believe, can determine Italy's political institutions, whether they shall be republican or monarchist. Americans should have a special respect for this procedure, for it was a constituent assembly which gave the United States its form of government. It was clear to the anti-monarchists that Prince Humbert's declaration was nothing more than a maneuver of the reactionary forces to gain power.

Since the monarchists cannot hope to win in a fair fight, some such maneuver was to be expected. But the last thing that liberals in Italy and other parts of the world could have foreseen was the Allies' open support of the monarchy. The Allies are the real masters of the situation in Italy. Italians cannot move a chair from one ministry to another without the prior consent of the Allied Commission. The word "control" has been deleted from the commission's title, but Italian affairs are just as much under its thumb as before. And the Allies, particularly the British, seem determined to build up for the monarchy such a strong machine that it can completely control Italian politics. To this end they are consistently weakening the democratic forces in Italy. The House of Savoy, of course, protects its supporters—the big industrialists and landowners, the generals, and the aristocrats, all of them haters of democracy. These in turn protect the petty Fascist bureaucrats who can still be found in all local and state administrations.

The Assistant High Commissioner for the Punishment of Fascist Crimes, Mauro Scoccimarro, in an interview carried by the Socialist paper *Avanti* of November 10, stated flatly: "All the Fascist and reactionary forces immediately mobilized to sabotage the purge. Unfortunately they were able to influence certain democrats and therefore the government itself, creating conditions detrimental to the government's purpose. I can report that as of October 31 out of 1,005 cases submitted only 345 were acted upon."

The Allies allow, even encourage, such sabotage of the attempt to purge Italy of fascism because a thorough purge would sweep out many monarchists. For example, two generals, del Tetto and Pettimalli, were arrested some time ago and charged with high treason. They were accused of having surrendered Naples to the Germans and of collaboration with the enemy. Their trial was first set for October 23, then postponed two weeks. It has never taken place. The reason is obvious. The two generals, in their own defense, would have to expose the King and Badoglio, who instead of organizing the defense of southern Italy fled to safety. Justice was flouted so that the position of the monarchy might not be weakened.

For the same reason a purge of the navy has been prohibited. The navy belongs to the King; it is his personal instrument of power, and he does not want anybody to interfere with it.

In order to show the world that a monarchy, over and above the political parties, is needed to unite the country, it is necessary to make people believe that Italy is disunited. There is in Sicily a separatist movement which can serve this purpose. It is supported by the big landowners, who fear the social reforms a democratic Italy would have to undergo, and who therefore wish to see Sicily separated from the motherland. The leader of the movement is a certain Finocchiaro Aprile, a trouble-maker whose arrest was ordered by the Bonomi government. The Allies opposed his arrest, and Aprile is still free and active. It is a known fact that many Fascists, after being arrested as collaborators, were freed by the Allies, and that others who were removed from public office were reinstated.

The most unsavory elements in Italian political life are found among the monarchists. But their loyalty to the House of Savoy is unquestioned, because their survival depends upon its continuance. In a democratic Italy there would be no place for Mussolini's generals, but the King may very well use them, not to fight against the Germans for Italy but against the Italian people for the monarchy. That is what happened in Palermo, where 18 people were killed and 105 injured by the army doing police duty. The main job left to the *carabinieri* (military police) is to fire on the peasants who want to farm the estates of the big landowners, to destroy anti-monarchist manifestos, and to loot the premises of anti-monarchist papers. The army must still swear allegiance to "the king and his royal successors for the indivisible good of king and country." It is indoctrinated to believe that to fight against the monarchy would be equivalent to

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fighting against Italy, but is trained to fight against the Italian people for the sake of "law and order."

The *prefetti,* provincial governors appointed directly by the central government, are another tool of the monarchy. Their powers are almost limitless. The *prefetto* appoints the mayor, the members of the council, and the commissioners for each city in the province; the police are answerable to him; he controls the entire economic life of the region; he names the commission for the punishment of Fascist crimes; he distributes all posts in the provincial and municipal administrations. Naturally the *prefetti* are chosen from among the most faithful monarchists. They are in a position to control the election of a Constituent Assembly—or to manipulate a plebiscite if the monarchists' wishes prevail; they can prevent people from voting, refuse to count all the votes, or count them incorrectly. And if disorders arise, the *prefetti* have at their disposal the police, and also the army if necessary, to enforce "law and order."

It is time Americans realized that the Allies, by continuing their present policy, will force the democratic elements in Italy to use revolutionary methods to accomplish what they cannot accomplish legally.

Colonel Rat

BY PAUL SERING

JULY 20 was the signal for the dissolution of the alliance on which the Third Reich was built—the alliance between the Nazi upstarts and their political machine on one side and the armament kings, landowners, and military professionals of traditional Germany on the other. In the hour of defeat the Nazi leaders behave as desperate outlaws, and the traditional ruling classes behave as rats. Göring was once designated as Hitler's successor because of all the Nazi leaders he was considered best suited for holding the alliance together; Himmler takes over because it is disintegrating anyhow. His Germany is Hitler's Germany minus the "rats."

The organization of the outlaws is Himmler's S. S. It has long been developed as the inner core of the Nazi movement. It has trained hundreds of thousands in fiendish cruelty and the ruthless sacrifice of lives. During the eleven years of Hitler's reign it has patiently, step by step, extended its hold over the administration and the armed forces.

Today Himmler's outlaw army is organizing Germany's "last-ditch" defense in true Gestapo style. Authentic reports from Germany outrun the wildest imagination of Allied propagandists. It is true that entire divisions of cripples were sent to the front even before the call-up of the *Volkssturm.* It is also true that it has become a regular part of German tactics to sacrifice these inferior troops in hopeless delaying actions in order to gain time to extricate the "élite," and that means now mostly S. S. formations. It is known that many of the inhabitants of Aachen were forced to leave their homes against their will; and there are now reliable reports from the Ruhr which state that, when things looked like an Allied break-through there a few weeks ago, the Nazis seriously planned to flood the mines, after first driving the "eastern workers" down into the pits. Naturally, there can be no "arming of the people" while this is going on; the fact is that a highly selective arming of reliable elements is accompanied by continuous political controls, mass arrests, and executions.

So much about the outlaws; what about the rats? They have no common organization, only a common social background and a common creed, the creed of all the Darlans. They profited from Nazism while it was successful; they helped it into the saddle and share responsibility for its major decisions. Now they are trying to join the Allied camp.

I am not talking of peace feelers. There are no more German peace feelers—partly because the people who would like to make them have no power, and partly because they realize that the Allies are not interested. I am talking of the unconditional surrender of German war profiteers and officers from the very best noble families. Ever since July 20 there has been a real epidemic of this.

They are ready to tell the Allies every military and industrial and diplomatic secret they know. They swear that they have never liked the Nazis and only profited from their war with a bleeding heart. Above all, they are not interested in politics. Politics, so they explain one and all, is what was the trouble with Germany. When the Allies occupy Germany they must above all abolish politics for a long, long time. No political movements—that would only lead to Bolshevism, and surely the Allies don't want disorder? Of course, Director General Rat and Colonel von Rat will be delighted to put their administrative and organizing experience at the disposal of an orderly Allied administration. And so on.

It is a disgusting business, but a serious one because it is so well calculated to play on reactionary prejudices within the Allied camp. And it is dangerous. I do not suggest that all these people are disguised Nazi agents—most of them are as sincere as a rat can be. But I do say that the Allies can give no greater help to the future Nazi "underground" than to follow this advice.

Himmler and his thugs are exaggerating their *maquis* preparations as much as their other secret weapons. But that there will be a secret terrorist organization of Nazi outlaws —that much is certain. They have lost much of their former popular support already; they will have lost much more by the time organized fighting is over. The question is: will they be able to regain this support later by exploiting the miserable state into which their acts have thrown the country?

Part of the answer depends, of course, on the general character of the Allied treatment of defeated Germany. But an essential part depends on the development of an effective, genuine, constructive political movement of anti-Nazi Germans. Police measures may be able to keep down the underground Nazi movement; only a political counter-movement can kill it. It is not a question of public order; it is a question of getting a positive hold on the masses who have lost faith in the Nazi gospel.

The elements of such a movement exist. They exist in the Socialist and Communist underground groups, now definitely on the increase in spite of increasing persecution; they exist in religious underground circles, and even in a considerable number of secret youth groups which are seeking to escape from official propaganda and uniformity and groping for truth with nobody to guide them. They exist in the many individuals who have managed to preserve their standards of

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intellectual criticism and ethical conduct, though they have never found the way to political action. It is these genuine anti-Nazis who will be willing and able not only to co-operate with the Allies, but also to give a new orientation to the great bulk of the German people—those who have supported the Nazi regime without taking an active part in its policy or its crimes. (From the *Tribune*, London.)

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

A NOTEWORTHY directive was issued to German labor offices on November 10 by Commissioner of Man-Power Fritz Sauckel. "The Führer," he announced in the *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, "has ordered a rejuvenation of the officers' corps. Therefore a considerable number of older officers are being released. I attach special importance to their speedy and complete employment."

Of course there could hardly be a less suitable moment than the present for the release of a "considerable number" of officers, even older officers. Not only have the casualties among officers been enormous, but the new *Volkssturm* must be supplied with a whole new officer corps; and since this "people's army" consists mainly of elderly men, older officers are especially needed. It can be assumed therefore that "rejuvenation" is a euphemistic expression for a new kind of purge—the last act of the political purge that was begun months ago. Defeatist or suspect officers in tens of thousands were first removed from their commands; now they are being formally dismissed from the army.

There would be little necessity to comment on their fate were it not for Herr Sauckel's insistence that the labor offices find jobs for them, speedily. "Older" officers, as the term is used in Germany, are at least majors or colonels. Formerly when individuals of these ranks left the army they retired on a pension. Occasionally they took an honorary post or some work whose dignity corresponded to their social position. But the labor bureaus do not concern themselves with honorary posts or with highly dignified employment. They supply the factories with men to work at lathes, die machines, conveyor belts. In other words, the Nazi authorities have ordered the employment of the released officers as ordinary workmen in industry. They attach "special importance" to the disappearance of these officers in the nameless masses, to the "speedy and complete" dissolution of their social group.

Another new step taken by the army is worth mentioning. On November 23 a "new law regulating the remuneration of the armed forces" was announced in German newspapers. The novelty consists in the introduction of a so-called "battle supplement." The German soldier has always received higher pay for front-line than for garrison service—as is the custom in most armies—and the difference is now to be augmented: "From now on a battle supplement will be paid for every day that the soldier directly confronts the enemy." The sum is fairly large—six marks a day, which at the current rate of exchange is $2.50. A soldier who is in the trenches for a whole month gets $75 extra.

"This battle supplement," the announcement states, "is paid to all ranks alike. It is the same for a private and a sergeant, a captain and a general." It serves therefore as another of the demonstrations of the "strictly socialist character of our Reich" which have been following on each other's heels since Himmler's ascent to supreme power. The chief purpose of the new measure is of course to make the soldier willing, even eager, to serve at the front. Herr Himmler must place hope in it, for it adds an immense sum to the budget of the war. From the normal financial point of view it seems an act of madness. But it will get some results—some extremely necessary results.

Nowhere is there more talk about the Hitler mystery than in Germany. All the hypotheses put forward abroad are thoroughly ventilated in the Reich. Public opinion seems to be gradually inclining—rightly or wrongly—toward the simplest and most radical conclusion. The Swiss *Basler Arbeiterzeitung* reported on November 21, "The opinion is growing throughout Germany that Hitler is dead." And the Stockholm *Aftonbladet* said on the same day, "According to private reports the average German has increasing doubts that Hitler is still alive."

Up to the time of writing the Nazi authorities have followed the line of denying everything. Dr. Ley travels up and down the country and delivers three or four speeches a day on Hitler's glowing health. An article of his in the *Angriff* of November 18 is almost naive: "The enemy," he says, "improvises, incites, lies. Hitler is said to be dead, to have escaped to Japan in a U-boat, to be mad, to be befuddled, to be feeding songbirds at Berchtesgaden. What goes on in the brains of the poor creatures who make such stupid attacks on our Führer?"

But while this was, and remains, the official line, one exception has been noted—and its effect on the German people was like that of a rocket bomb. The *Völkischer Beobachter* of November 14 carried a curiously abstract, pointless, and obscure article—containing no mention of Hitler—which under the circumstances was absolutely sensational. Entitled The Man of Genius, its thesis was this:

> It happens in world history that at climactic moments a phenomenon familiar in everyday life repeats itself on a colossal scale—namely, the personality of a "man of genius," with its inhibitions, faults, and weaknesses, separates itself from his creative achievements. Not always or forever does the genius completely fill the frame of his creation. Frequently it happens that the great work of a genius continues to develop, of its own vitality and according to its own laws, while the ego of its creator collapses and degenerates. In other words, the creation of the genius has become independent of himself and his earthly personality.

What was meant by this solemn chatter about the possibility that genius may collapse and degenerate while his work continues to flourish? The average reader could take it only as preparation for an admission that Hitler was finished. The article was so understood in Germany, and it must have been so intended. We do not know why the expected sequel did not appear. The *Völkischer Beobachter* must have decided at one time gradually to prepare the people for the fact that they would no longer see much of the Führer.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

ARITHMETIC HAS NEVER BEEN, for me, an exact science. I seldom get fewer than three different totals when I add up a column of figures, and long division, as I practice it, is long indeed. This failing used to bother me—I once hit a schoolmate over the head with my sewing bag because she always got A in arithmetic. I have adjusted myself since then. I don't really care what nine times six is, and my colleagues have adjusted themselves to my highly subjective estimates of lines and words. But a publicity release about a book called "New Numbers" does, I admit, stir the old frustrations. Practically the only thing I can do in figures with any degree of confidence is to count by tens. I have even derived a sort of joy out of counting by tens. And now I'm told that it's "a mistake." F. Emerson Andrews, author of "New Numbers," declares we should count by twelves. The old system, he says, obviously with a sneer, is based on nothing more logical than the fact that man has ten fingers. I find it, if not logical, at least comforting and sure—and more convenient for reference than, say, the fact that there are twelve unfastened eggs in a dozen. The release goes on, relentlessly, to imply that counting would be simpler if two new numbers were added. At this point the satisfaction with which I hit Marvel Burke over the head comes back to me. But I realize it's a losing battle. Mr. Andrews can count me out—and he can count to ten or twelve, just as he pleases.

WE HAVE HAD very little actual detailed information, so far, about the resistance movement inside Poland. In "Story of a Secret State" (Houghton, Mifflin, $3) Jan Karski gives a detailed account, in the form of a personal history, of the Polish underground, its organization and its amazing ramifications—the movement even carries on the education of the young, who receive degrees in code. Mr. Karski points out with pride that Poland has not thrown up a single quisling. Non-collaboration has been complete. And this fact, ironically, may well be one of the reasons—apart from the situation of Poland far inside occupied Europe—why we have heard so little, relatively, about the struggle there.

Mr. Karski, who was an officer in the Polish army when war broke out, became a prisoner of the Russians when they moved in. Because his birthplace was in a territory occupied by the Germans he managed to be included, once he had obtained a private's uniform, in a group of Poles who were exchanged for Ukrainians held by the Germans. He escaped from the Nazis and made his way to Warsaw, where he was drawn almost immediately into the underground movement. He also worked in Cracow and Lublin. In the course of duty he went on a mission to the Polish government in exile while it was still in France. When he was sent on a second mission he was caught by the Gestapo and put through its mill of torture. He finally escaped, recovered, and went back to work. On a third and last mission he arrived in London by way of Germany itself, France, and Spain to report to General Sikorski. He has since told the story of Poland's resistance to many important people in Britain and America, including Roosevelt.

Much of the material in his book is sensational; the pages in which he describes a visit to the ghetto and gives a first-hand account of the herding of Jews, already stripped of most of their clothing and half insane with exposure, mistreatment, and starvation, into freight cars lined with quicklime, where they died a slow death—these pages are almost unbearable to read, but the writing is restrained throughout. His testimony on the democratic nature of the underground state is very impressive. If he is to be believed, and I find his story convincing, this government is determined that post-war Poland shall be a genuine democracy based on individual freedom, the equitable division of land, and social control of the country's vital resources.

Karski speaks of Russia in what might be called a neutral and diplomatic tone. He takes pains to say that "the Russian soldiers who guarded us were, as usual, lenient enough within the limits of military discipline. I never saw a Russian guard strike or curse at a prisoner. . . ." He is bent, it would seem, on avoiding thorny issues. Toward the end of the book he quotes General Sikorski on his (Sikorski's) determination "as Prime Minister and as a Pole" to do everything possible to facilitate collaboration, "not because Russia is powerful, but because such collaboration will be advantageous to all Europe. I mean, of course, the collaboration of a free, independent Poland." And in a postscript Karski says:

> Poland's Underground State, to which I belonged, was under the authority of the Polish government in London. I know that besides this organization there were other elements carrying on their activities under the direction or the influence of Moscow. Because of my sincere intention to describe only my personal experiences, their activities could not properly be included in this book.

One feels, nevertheless, that the book was written in the shadow cast by the Russian bear and that Mr. Karski's careful documentation of the efficiency, authority, and scope of the Polish underground he belonged to is designed to bolster Poland's case for real independence and the support of Britain and America. On the evidence of his book, Poland has not only put up a magnificent fight against the Nazis; it has also purged itself of the fascist-feudal elements which made the defense of Poland so ironic a beginning for a war against fascism.

Whether Russia will allow such a development in Poland is a question—its role in the tragedy of Warsaw was not exactly reassuring. But the answer to that question depends partly on whether Britain and America will have the sense in time to scrap their plans for "restorations" and accept democratic and socialist solutions in Europe—again, Britain's role in Italy at the moment is not exactly reassuring. It seems

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to me as clear as crystal that democratic socialism in Europe offers the only hope of liquidating the German problem and preventing a new war. Certainly it is the only context in which a democratic Poland could exist.

I admit that the prospects of either British and American or Russian tolerance of democratic socialism in their respective spheres do not seem too bright—each seems more willing to tolerate it in the other fellow's sphere, and that may be something to work on. But perhaps the people of Europe will take matters into their own hands. They have paid for that privilege, in advance and with interest. Mr. Karski has given us one, only one, of the itemized accounts.

THE OTHER SATURDAY I walked down Third Avenue, which must be one of the saddest streets in the world. The warm sun had brought out all the bums, and it lit them up even more. What rosy faces! A few figures were folded into doorways, dead to the world. The rest were weaving, with weak-kneed, inconsequent carefulness. Avoiding them was like making one's way through slow-motion interference in some fantastic football game. I found myself chanting, "She fell away like fruit blown down with wind." But these were old autumn leaves loose from their stems and not fit to bring into the house because they're not even colorful. A sign in front of a movie house said, "Churchill Predicts Better World After Victory."

IN LAST WEEK'S *NATION* Albert Guérard was made to say, in his review of Reinhold Niebuhr's new book, that in America "every man in authority . . . is presumed to be a radical." What Mr. Guérard really said was rascal. Let "every man in authority" take what comfort he can from this emendation.

BRIEFER COMMENT

Dossier on Pétain

TRAITORS, LIKE FASCISTS and other criminals, do not take on their color overnight. Therefore it is scarcely surprising that a book entitled "C'est Pétain qu'il nous faut" should have appeared in France as early as 1935. Its author was Gustave Hervé, founder of the French National Socialist Party, whose books were likewise published in Berlin by the wealthy Batschari, himself one of the first financial backers of the German National Socialist movement. By an "adroit blending of lies and half-truths" and an assiduous waving of the red flag of communism in threat, Hervé began ten years ago the creation of "the myth of Pétain," following without deviation the accepted technique of fascist parties when preparing a nation for dictatorship. André Schwob makes all this clear in a brilliant volume, "L'Affaire Pétain, Faits et Documents" (Editions de la Maison Française, New York, $2), which no student of French contemporary history should be without. Beginning with Daladier's testimony at the Riom trials, he proceeds, in reverse chronological order, to Poincaré's diary of 1918 and Joffre's "Memoirs," and from these to an exposé of Hervé's insidious propaganda campaigns. His book presents more than sufficient

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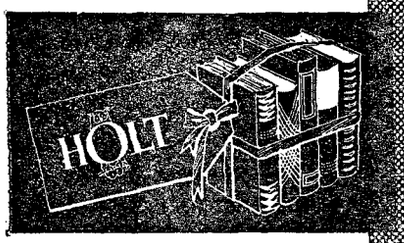

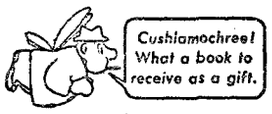

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evidence to convince even those most charitably inclined toward our policy of appeasement that we, through the offices of our State Department, were never at any time dealing with a well-intentioned if rather decrepit French military gentleman but with a traitor who had for many years premeditated, with other fascists, the overthrow of the Third French Republic.

It is perhaps not to be too deeply regretted that Mr. Schwob's book, which was compiled over a year ago, should not have been published until now, for surely never more than at the present moment was it necessary that we recognize the features of the betrayers of the democratic cause.

KAY BOYLE

Definitive

UNTIL THE APPEARANCE of "Argentine Riddle" by Felix J. Weil (John Day, $3.50) the best of the war-time crop of books on the Argentine was John W. White's, which was much more solidly based than Ray Josephs's informative but rather thoughtless report recently reviewed in *The Nation*. Mr. Weil's book is so completely satisfying that as far as this reviewer is concerned there can be no need, until the situation shall have greatly changed, for fresh books of the explanatory sort. The author is firmly grounded in Argentine history, which he has so absorbed into the system of his thought that his references to it are invariably apposite and naturally voiced. He is versed in Argentine politics and economics and has a sensitive understanding of the temper and traditions of his country—Mr. Weil is a citizen of Argentina. He appears to be a completely balanced critic, liberal and progressive in mind but not rendered injudicious by wartime "necessities." Though Mr. Weil firmly believes in the Allied cause, his dignified book is far from being a piece of agitational literature or a mere "internationalist" attack on his own country. He sees the interior political situation of his country as more or less the inevitable consequence of Argentina's barely achieved emergence from a colonial economy. The great landowners are struggling to keep their hold, not only against the more or less liberal middle and urban classes, but against the rising industrialists also. The proletariat, ill-organized and unprepared, is not yet a major factor, though the majority of the popular classes have a democratic outlook. The army officers are natural allies of the landowners, and the church of course prefers the vanishing, hitherto static agrarian order.

Mr. Weil carries out this class analysis with generosity and flexibility. There are excellent well-documented but never dull chapters on labor, the land, industrialization, the future of Argentine industry, and so on. Mr. Weil believes that the normalization of foreign policy depends largely upon the achievement of democracy in Argentina, which must itself in great measure depend upon industrialization. A solid book that will admirably serve the purposes of the responsibly progressive.

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SHOCKING

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Calhoun

"TO THE END of a long and tempestuous life Andrew Jackson regretted that he had not hanged John C. Calhoun." Anathema to the industrial North, to the South he was the wisest of statesmen. Now, a century later, scholars rate him one of the three great Congressional leaders of his time; yet he is almost unknown to most Americans. While Clay and Webster have been the subjects of excellent biographies, the less likable Calhoun has been neglected. Charles Wiltse is remedying this with what will probably be a three-volume life, of which the first volume is now published under the title "John C. Calhoun, Nationalist, 1782-1828" (Bobbs-Merrill, $3.75).

His book provides a satisfactory picture of the family and environment from which Calhoun emerged to become a central figure on the nation's political stage. Calhoun the Congressman, Cabinet member, and Vice-President moves through its pages. In all capacities he was competent; in some of them he was magnificent. This volume is primarily the story of Calhoun the nationalist, desiring a strong and effective central government. As it closes we find him anticipating the increasing struggle between an industrial North and an agricultural South, and undergoing the change in philosophy which was to make him, for the rest of his life, the champion of sectionalism.

This is a scholarly and interesting book. It presents an important statesman to a generation which has nearly forgotten his name and is well written in an undramatic and pleasing style.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

Masters or Slaves?

WHATEVER THE MERITS or demerits of Vansittartism, it reveals less emotional nationalism than its adversaries do. Ferdinand A. Hermens, for instance, has no business charging in "The Tyrants' War and the People's Peace" (University of Chicago, $2.75) that Vansittart has "more or less adopted the Nazi racial theory" because in Vansittart's as in American terminology "race" is frequently used as an equivalent to "nation." It is unfair to hold Vansittartism

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responsible for the idiotic suggestion that all Germans should be castrated. That World War I could have been avoided if the German Reichstag had been in session when the Serbian answer to the Austrian ultimatum arrived is as dubious as the statement that Germany was the country to which Central European Jews "looked for a chance." It is, indeed, common knowledge that *racial* anti-Semitism is one of the few German inventions.

The author states that "the real cause for the rise of tyranny is the weakness of democracy." Why, then, does he think it would be most unfortunate if the Allies did not permit "the democratic parties" to set up a government as soon as a substantial part of Germany has been occupied? This is all the more surprising since the author himself refers to "the test of experience" and admits that the men who were leading the republican parties in 1932 were unable to lead a fight for democracy. Mr. Hermens questions whether the Nazis use the term *Herrenvolk* because he never heard it in campaign meetings he attended. Of greater moment, however, is the fact that they behave as if they were a master race, whereas the bulk of the German people was turned into a race of slaves rather than a race of masters by means of their unswerving faith in and respect for authority. This accounts for the failures of German democracy, for democracy in Germany or anywhere else is inconceivable without the sense of freedom and liberty. Whoever has read Ludwig Börne's immortal Letters from Paris may doubt whether the Germans, left alone, will be able to free themselves from their traditional servitude. Apologists for German nationalism who deny German militarism and attempt to put the blame for Nazism exclusively on Versailles, Hitler, and his paladins are contributing as little to a solution of the German problem as those who oversimplify it by advocating either a "tough" or a "soft" peace.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

FICTION IN REVIEW

Milton at This Hour

HAVING, with "I, Claudius," made a popular thing of the Roman Empire, Robert Graves has turned his attention to the English seventeenth century and given us "Wife to Mr. Milton" (Creative Age Press, $2.75), a fictional study of the Cromwellian wars and of the domestic life of John Milton. Mr. Graves's new novel is an interesting, very readable book but a highly disconcerting one. For it is not, in the usual fashion, a neutral exercise of the historical imagination. Erudite and a great respecter of historical exactness in matters of language, social behavior, and the like, Mr. Graves is no respecter of historical persons. He has not only a political ax to grind but a personal ax to wield. "Wife to Mr. Milton" is in large portion a hatchet-job on the memory of Milton. By the time King Charles has lost his head, one of England's greatest poets has also lost as much prestige as Mr. Graves can possibly deprive him of.

The Milton of Mr. Graves's novel is vain, tyrannical, pompous, priggish, ambitious, repressed, repressive, and

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absurd; by some accident he manages to retain a gift of sonorous verse and prose to serve his opportunism. It is perhaps an excess of zeal that the blurb writer for "Wife to Mr. Milton" calls the poet "Cromwell's Dr. Goebbels"; Mr. Graves himself, in the foreword to his novel, says no more than that the post-war Cromwellian method was what we would now call "undisguised fascism" and that lovers of democracy should be warned against Wordsworth's "Milton, thou should'st be living at this hour." But of course this is Mr. Graves's privilege—to state his interpretations of history in as unmodulated terms as he pleases. I can object only to the unfairness of the circular argument by which Mr. Graves supports a political conclusion with a highly conjectural personal picture and then confirms his personal conjectures by means of his political conclusions. Written in the first person—the narrator is Mary Powell, wife of the poet—"Wife to Mr. Milton" is a detailed, elaborate reconstruction of Milton's first marriage, and Mr. Graves creates so chicly sympathetic a portrait of Mary and so unremittingly hateful a portrait of Milton that the reader would have to be unusually resistant to suggestion not to believe that here is a narrative compounded solely of authenticated facts and not to be convinced that there was no other possible interpretation of the Milton-Powell relationship. Then, obviously, the next step is to conclude that where there was so much private smoke, there must have been a very malodorous public fire—and that anyone of such unsavory politics as John Milton could scarcely have been a desirable husband.

Mr. Graves's novel, in other words, is an ungenerous personal enterprise and also, since no good political end is served by unattractive personal emotions, an unworthy political enterprise. But it bothers me for still another reason. Like Oscar Levant on "Information, Please," I, too, tend to confuse Mary, Queen of Scots, with Katherine Hepburn, and Christina of Sweden with Greta Garbo, and years from now, when I am asked why the first Mrs. Milton ran home to mother, in all likelihood I will revert, with all the authority of an original scholar, to Mr. Graves's bridal scene out of "What Every Young Husband Should Know." To people like myself, long on such fanciful memories and lamentably short on true learning, historical movies and novels should recognize, I think, their special responsibility.

Vera Brittain's "Account Rendered" (Macmillan, $3) is a novel against war and in favor of psychiatry. Not particularly the stuff of fiction, it is still a serious effort to point the lesson in the tragic career of a shellshocked soldier. Miss Brittain's faith in psychotherapy is a bit simple and on the mechanical side, and her anti-war convictions veer to the politically unrealistic. Nevertheless, it is as much of a relief, these days, to come across a book in which psychiatry is the hero instead of the villain as it is to come across a war novel which says that war is only evil.

Since I was able to read but 200 of the 500 pages of Leonid Leonov's "Road to the Ocean" (Fischer, $3), and these only with the greatest self-discipline and sentence-to-sentence confusion, I consider myself unable to offer more than this hint on the modern Soviet author whom Gorki has placed in the tradition of Pushkin, Turgenev, Dostoevski, and Tolstoy.

DIANA TRILLING

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Films

JAMES AGEE

"FAREWELL, MY LOVELY," as Raymond Chandler wrote it, combined about equal parts of poetic talent, arrested-adolescent prurience, and the sort of self-pity which, rejoicing in all that is hardest-boiled, turns the two former faculties toward melodramatic, pretentiously unpretentious examination of big cities and their inhabitants. The picture preserves most of the faults and virtues of the book. I suppose a lot that I like about it is not really good except by comparison with the deadly norm, from the astuteness with costuming and sets—over-attentiveness to secondary levels of realism buying off sharp enough attention to primary—to the rather adventurous but rather arty photography. Nevertheless, I enjoyed the romanticism of the picture, and its hopefulness and energy, and much of its acting—that of Miles Mander, Claire Trevor, Ralfe Harald, and Dick Powell especially. Even its messiness and semi-accomplishment made me feel better about it than about the much better-finished, more nearly unimpeachable, but more academic and complacent "Double Indemnity."

"The Man in Half Moon Street," played by Nils Asther, whom I have always liked and am glad to be seeing again, is ninety years old, looks thirty-five, and is eager to keep up that appearance forever, if possible, at the expense of the young men whose glands he and another medical friend (well-played by Reinhold Schunzel as Albert Bassermann) confiscate. Most of the movie tries, with uneven success, to be polite about its tenseness, but the scene in which Mr. Asther's years catch up with him—a really remarkable job of make-up, lighting, and I guess a sort of acting—is much more interesting and scary than one had reason to expect.

"Jamming the Blues," a hot-jazz short by the *Life* photographer Djon Mili, is exciting quite a few people around Hollywood, and has some right to, for it is one of the few musical shorts I have ever got even fair pleasure out of hearing, and the only one, barring the jam scene in "Phantom Lady," which was not a killing bore to watch except as a heartsick attempt on the part of the makers to act as if this were the gayest, most provocative film assignment in the world. Yet I don't really care much for the picture. It is too full of the hot, moist, boozy breath of the unqualified jazz addict, of which I once had more than enough in my own mouth; and I thought the two effects which wholly compose it—chiaroscuro and virtual silhouette—too pretentious and borrowed and arty, despite their occasional good service, to be taken in a wholly friendly spirit, let alone an enthusiastic one. There are few things in any art or art-industry more discouraging to think of, more inimical to the furtherance of good work or to the chance to attempt it, than the middle-brow highbrows. Half a brow is worse than no head.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

A RECORD company executive whom I met on the street not long ago took the occasion to point out to me what I evidently had not understood when I had written that a certain set of records represented waste of technical skill, plant, materials, and labor on a worthless piece of music. If the company had not consented to record the piece, and if it had not finally issued the recording, the celebrated performer who had made it would, on the expiration of his contract, have been lost to the competing company. And to a company organized for the commercial exploitation of the "super-acrobats with extra publicity" whose names pull in the dollars of the mass musical public it was, obviously, not waste of precious labor and materials to use them for a piece of rubbish if this enabled the company to hold on to one of its valuable commercial assets. For the same reason, this executive went on, it was necessary to allow a super-acrobat who insisted to record a great work that he was not musically equipped to play well. And he piled instance on instance of the recording of poor music or poor performance in which there was a similar commercial justification for what was artistically indefensible. But in this way he demonstrated more than he intended: the fact that commercial exploitation of recording prevented its proper use for artistic ends. Not entirely, of course, since a few of the commercially exploitable names are those of great artists; so that along with Beethoven and Mozart and rubbish recorded by the Stokowskis, the Iturbis, the Heifetzes, great and small, we do also get some Beethoven and Mozart recorded by Toscanini, Beecham, Schnabel, Szigeti (most of it, as it happens, recorded in Europe).

One need not be surprised, therefore, by what Heifetz plays on his first Decca records: arrangements of *Largo al factotum* from "The Barber of Seville" and an Irish folk-dance "Gweedore Brae"; Berlin's "White Christmas" and Herbert's "A la Valse." Or disappointed by the first things Columbia and Victor rushed through after the end of the Petrillo ban on recording: Kostelanetz's performances of the Schubert and Bach-Gounod "Ave Marias"; Iturbi's performances of the Blues and Boogie-Woogie Etude from Morton Gould's American Concertette. Later there will also be things you and I are interested in.

So with the few single records on Victor's December list that have arrived so far. They include things like Warren's "Christmas Candle" and Benham's "Curley Locks" sung by John Charles Thomas; but also Erika Morini's superb performance of a fine Vivaldi Sonata in D (11-8671; $1). And the *Hallelujah* chorus and *Behold the Lamb of God* from Handel's "Messiah," well sung by the Sadler's Wells Chorus and Orchestra under Braithwaite, and well recorded except for the effect of reverberation (11-8670; $1).

The Ballet Theater's revival of "Carnaval" was an example of the disaster that can be achieved by rushing an insufficiently prepared work to the stage, and the injustice that can be done in this way to the choreographer and the dancers involved—the injustice to as fine a young dancer as Harold Lang, for example, in compelling him to exhibit anything as unfinished and callow as his Harlequin. On the other hand "The Three-Cornered Hat" was a joy to see with its wonderful Picasso set and costumes and excellent Falla music; with its homogeneity of choreographic style restored—with, that is, Massine's choreography for the Miller's Wife back in place of Argentinita's dancing in her own style; with the dramatic point and wit of this choreography employing Toumanova's gifts for just that sort of thing; and with Lichine exhibiting his gift for danced comedy—as against Semenoff's slapstick—in the part of the Governor.

Mr. John Martin put on a great show of petulance about the engagement of guest stars who were surpassed by the Ballet Theater's own dancers. One may

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note and dislike Toumanova's hamming in classic parts, and be disappointed by Riabouchinska's Prelude in "Les Sylphides" and "Bluebird" in "Princess Aurora," which one used to find enchanting; and one may note, on the other hand, the beautiful work in such roles of Hightower, whose fluent grace reminds one of Danilova, or Alonso, whose cool distinction reminds one of Markova, or Kaye, or even Gollner, who may have learned restraint from observation of Toumanova's excesses. But one must note also what Toumanova and Riabouchinska bring to ballets like "The Three-Cornered Hat" and "Graduation Ball"—what creates the aura and impact of greatness that the other fine dancers of the company do not create: consider the charm of Janet Reed in "Graduation Ball," as against the brilliance and radiance of Riabouchinska. And one must conclude that Ballet Theater needs its guest stars for what they can do in addition to the beautiful things its own dancers can do—one of these beautiful things being Kaye's Juliet this year, which has acquired the lightness and subtlety of movement that it lacked. It would be interesting to see Alonso and Hightower in "Romeo."

At a further visit to Ballet International I saw "Sentimental Colloquy," in which the manifestations of even a vicious use of artistic intelligence in Dali's distracting set and costumes and properties were welcome as a relief from the nothingness of Bowles's music and Eglevsky's choreography. And "Mute Wife," in which I found Antonia Cobos's invention and execution of pose and movement in the title role delightfully humorous and witty, but everything else unimaginative and dull; whereupon Edwin Denby explained that the dancers had forgotten the precise timings that had made their movements effective at the first performance. I should have mentioned the good quality of the orchestra which Smallens, presumably, assembled and trained for Ballet International; but I should also have mentioned the atrocious orchestration for "Les Sylphides" when I spoke of some of the others.

More and more I feel that International's great service to the public has been the fact that it took Nijinska away from the Monte Carlo company—which had the result that Balanchine is now working with that company, not only enriching its repertory with his own ballets but doing a great deal for better performances of the classics.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Open Shop in Florida

Dear Sirs: Approval by the Florida electorate of the anti-closed-shop amendment to the state constitution is an insult to organized labor everywhere. The explanation for this misfortune is the failure of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and what other progressive elements there are in the state to act soon enough and energetically enough to overcome the head start gained by the wealthy reactionary interests within our borders.

The true liberals of the South cannot win the fight against reaction and ignorance by themselves. They must have the help of progressives in the North and West. The pseudo-liberals of the South warn against "outside interference" and argue that the South should be permitted to solve his own problems. They are dead wrong. Unless we are constantly reminded of the injustices here, of how backward we are, and of how impractical many of our traditional ways of thinking are, we will continue to repudiate democracy. It is discouraging that *The Nation* has had so few articles on the South in recent months. I hope that you have not fallen for the dodge that the South knows what is best for itself and that you had better adopt a hands-off attitude.

Florida should be one of the most cosmopolitan and enlightened states because of its large population from other states, but the trouble is that many outsiders come in and adopt our undemocratic attitudes and folkways. The lack of a single liberal newspaper—except the St. Petersburg *Times*—is another handicap to progressive thought and action.

I write as a native Southerner who has lived every year of his life in the South. WILLIAM H. JOUBERT

Gainesville, Fla., November 15

Applause from a Texan

Dear Sirs: I was particularly gratified to see your plug for the fight for decency and academic freedom we Texans are carrying on in behalf of the University of Texas.

We ex-students have a great deal of pride about our university and the things we hope it will achieve. It hurts us to see regents appointed to pay political debts—regents who have no real interest in the school. You can see that we Texans are not taking the regents' actions without a fight.

Thank you again for your interest in our "battle of the regents."

MRS. GRIER H. RAGGIO

Elgin, Tex., November 27

Mr. Scoville Explains

Dear Sirs: Since you printed in your column In the Wind of October 28 a portion only of my answer to a question given while I was serving recently on a discussion panel in Detroit, I trust you will give me space to correct the false impression which resulted from reporting only one portion of my extemporaneous remarks.

A lady asked, "Under free economy, how do you propose to take care of the slum areas?" Believing as I do that there is no conflict between free economy and better housing, I said, "You are worrying about something that doesn't need to be worried about." I then made an ambiguous statement which was quoted out of context in a way that misrepresents my real views: "If the people living in slums don't like them, let them move out." I realize, of course, that in congested war areas, people are not free to choose desirable sections for living quarters. However, in peace times ambitious people of refined tastes will at least try to move out of the slums—slums being defined in the dictionary as "filthy streets, especially inhabited by slovenly and vicious people." A tremendous number of them in the past have succeeded, and it is my firm conviction that under a system of free enterprise in this country, we would in the course of time achieve a greater improvement in the lot of our people than would be possible under any planned economy.

It is obvious that most people do not like to live in one-room shacks—but that some people would prefer such quarters to working hard enough to acquire better quarters is probably true. I think that Thoreau's residence on Walden Pond was probably a one-room shack. I believe some of the Christian ascetics were content to live in caves.

When I said, "There is no solution to this problem," I meant you cannot

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even state the problem. The houses in this country cannot be divided into two categories—slums and not slums. There is a gradation from the meanest hovel to costly palaces. As our country progresses, our housing will continue to improve through the years as it has in the past. No one can take a city map and indicate accurately the so-called slum areas. A cheap, poor house may be clean and tidy. The fact that someone lives in a house indicates that it has utility. We should go slow in destroying automobiles, houses, or anything else of value. The construction of new houses should not be contingent on the destruction of existing houses.

Slum clearance is a popular slogan, for everyone would like to see poor houses replaced with better ones. But the slogan is deceptive, for those who use it usually refer to something else, namely, public housing. I do not believe that government should finance, build, own, or operate residential properties, except as this may be necessary in certain areas as a war-time measure. Public housing projects do not pay their share of local taxes; they are rented on a discriminatory basis to favored groups; and the tenants are subsidized by taxpayers, many of whom live in poorer houses than those occupied by the subsidized tenants. There is an area in which a city government can work to improve and beautify the city, but in my opinion, this area does not include the construction and ownership of residential property.

There are those who believe in socialized agriculture, socialized medicine, socialized insurance, socialized housing, etc. I do not belong to this school of thought. I believe that private enterprise will be more effective than public enterprise in raising living standards. Private enterprise can build houses more cheaply than government. But private enterprise cannot, like government, make up for losses by levying taxes or by printing money.

JOHN W. SCOVILLE,
Economist for the Chrysler Corporation
Detroit, Mich., November 30

A Few Remarks

Dear Sirs: May I offer a few remarks on Agnes Smedley's review of my book "Chiang Kai-shek, Asia's Man of Destiny," which you published on August 26?

One of the points Miss Smedley raised was what she calls Chiang Kai-shek's "appeasement of Japan." Throughout the book I took pains to explain how a nation like China, which was so unprepared for war, could put up the most effective resistance only when it had established complete internal political unity. That was why Chiang delayed, trading, as he said, "space for time." That was part of his embracing and masterly strategy, which I used a whole chapter to expound (chapter 37). Let me further quote a few sentences from Chiang's speech on July 17, 1937: "While there was the slightest hope for peace, we would not abandon it; so long as we had not reached the limit of endurance, we would not talk lightly of sacrifice. . . . There is only one thing to do when we reach the limit of endurance: we must throw every ounce of energy into the struggle for our national existence and independence. When that is done, neither time nor circumstances will permit our stopping midway to seek peace. . . . Once that stage is reached, we can only sacrifice and fight to the bitter end." Less than a fortnight later, after the Japanese occupied Peiping and Tientsin, Chiang issued another message in which he said: "Now we have reached the point when we can endure it no longer; we will give way no more. The whole nation must rise like one man and fight these Japanese bandits until we have destroyed them and our own life is secure." And so China to this day is fighting against the Japanese. Those are classic statements on the war. Is it possible that Miss Smedley is ignorant of them? I am surprised that an "authority on China" must be reminded of these elementary and basic historical facts.

Miss Smedley quoted a rather long passage trying to show that I am for having the common man in China pressed into the service of the puppet regime. She did not quote the complete sentence as she meant to convey an entirely different meaning from what I intended. She did not even insert a few dots to indicate to her readers that parts of the sentence were being left out. What I wrote on page 288 was: ". . . if conditions are such that they [the common men] cannot serve China, what difference does it make for the moment if they are pressed into the service of the puppet regime *so long as they are clear in their hearts that they are Chinese?*" By the same token the millions of Europeans quietly fighting for the liberation of their respective countries are patriots even though temporarily they have to live under Hitler.

Miss Smedley ended her review by a personal attack on me. She referred to an episode during my diplomatic career in Europe. But before doing so she should have found out the facts. She should know that while I was Minister in Poland the Chinese consular official in that country was involved, along with his Polish typist-secretary in a shady munitions deal in behalf of the Spanish revolutionary party. She should know also that the case was thoroughly investigated by the Chinese government through its court at Chungking and that it was clearly established that the consul was respon-

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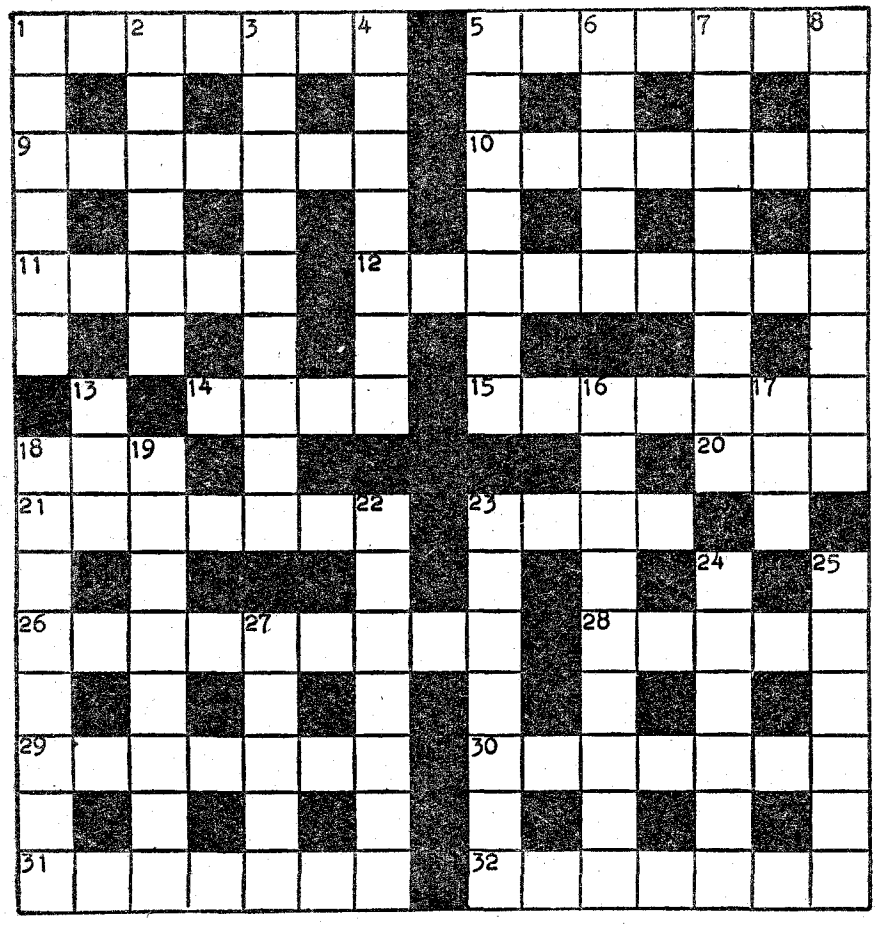
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 94

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 A "Lord High Everything" (hyphen, 4-3)
5 They keep up more than morale
9 The little devil put on airs—with this result
10 Forced to surface, and last seen among spent shells on the Plate
11 A last letter
12 Anna Coyne shows vexation when upset
14 "Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of ---- And eloquence" (*Paradise Regained*)
15 L. I. Depot (anag.)
18 Dutch uncle
20 A back answer
21 He rented his spare room to Cox by night and Box by day
23 "For he by geometric scale, Could take the ---- of pots of ale" (*Hudibras*)
26 What's in this will out, and mark my words (two words, 3 and 6)
28 Pretty enough to get a ring
29 Just think!
30 Man and horse in one creature
31 Riddle makers usually allow us three
32 Color of a tea rose?

DOWN

1 "Stone walls do not a ------ make" (but they help)
2 Bird of prey, complete with victim
3 French for junk (hyphen, 4-1-4)
4 The sound of cheering comes from the light cavalry
5 Confess finally to being no longer young (hyphen, 5-2)
6 "The trenchant blade, Toledo trusty, for want of fighting was grown -----" (*Hudibras*)
7 "Silence is deep as ---------; speech is shallow as Time" (Carlyle)
8 Hangs—and ends Puss
13 A reverse for 18 Across
16 Unlike Mr. Micawber, he hopes nothing will turn up
17 "How index-learning turns no student pale, Yet holds the --- of science by the tail" (Pope)
18 Compelling to be helpful
19 Character in *Pilgrim's Progress*
22 New Brunswick, N. J. college
23 Jacket named after the earl, not the philosopher
24 Llama of the Alps?
25 The last car
27 I am back with a solo

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 93

ACROSS:—1 PITCHERS; 5 ON LEGS; 10 LATER; 11 SALT WATER; 12 CHAUCER; 13 STIPEND; 14 TENTHS; 15 TEHERAN; 18 CAEDMON; 21 BOUNDS; 24 TRIFLER; 26 AMERIGO; 27 AFTERWARD; 28 ROOST; 29 DERIDE; 30 ORTHOEPY.

DOWN:—1 POLICY; 2 TETE-A-TETE; 3 HARICOT; 4 RESORTS; 6 NEW RICH; 7 ENTRE; 8 STRIDENT; 9 CLOSET; 16 RUDDIGORE; 17 SCOTLAND; 19 MILDRED; 20 NORMAN; 21 BOARDER; 22 UNEARTH; 23 POETRY; 25 INTER.

sible for his own activities, which had nothing to do with his superior official. The judgment is on record and is public property. H. H. CHANG

Hollywood, Cal., September 19

Miss Smedley Replies

Dear Sirs: Dr. Chang protests not so much because of my alleged ignorance of Chinese affairs as because I am not a propagandist and apologist for the dictatorship that rules China today. Many Americans are today campaigning for that dictatorship and are stuck up everywhere as "friends" of China, though they know little about the country. An American business man made a three months' trip to China last year, was made a general in the Chinese army, and is now a sort of high adviser to the official Kuomintang propaganda headquarters in New York!

Dr. Chang is right: I should have completed that fatal sentence of his on page 288. The total sentence is inexcusable. One can forgive a poor, ignorant man who is pressed into the Japanese puppet service but not one who "is clear in his heart" that he is a Chinese.

Dr. Chang is fortunate to have had a trial and been absolved of blame in that shady munitions deal with "the Spanish revolutionary party." But why does he call one Francisco Franco's outfit a "revolutionary party"? Franco and his henchmen were and are running dogs of Hitler and Mussolini.

AGNES SMEDLEY

Saratoga Springs, N. Y., October 10

CONTRIBUTORS

BENJAMIN GINZBURG, a Washington economist, was formerly an assistant editor of the "Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences." He is author of "The Adventure of Science."

BENJAMIN HARROW is professor of biochemistry at the College of the City of New York.

MARIO BELLINI is the pseudonym of a former member of the Italian underground now in the United States.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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